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HERODOTUS IV.



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## HERODOTUS

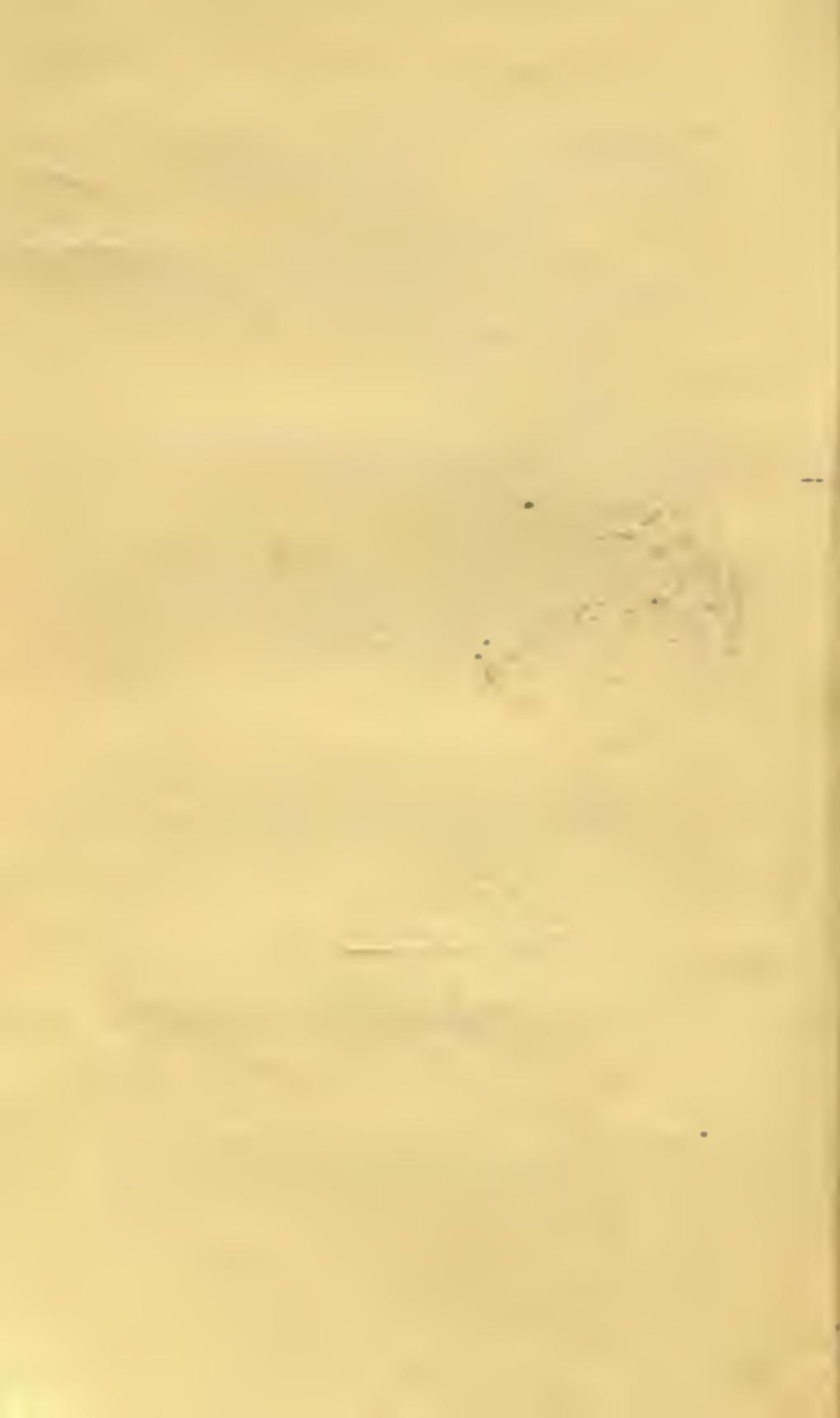
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# HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
A. D. GODLEY

EDR. FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

14523

FOUR VOLUMES

IV

BOOKS VIII-IX



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First Printed 1928  
Reprinted 1950

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	vii
BOOK VIII . . . . .	1
BOOK IX . . . . .	157
INDEX . . . . .	303
MAPS—BALAMIS . . . . .	<i>At end</i>
BATTLEFIELD OF PLATAKA . . . . .	"

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## INTRODUCTION

The following is a brief analysis of the contents of Books VIII and IX, based on the summary in Stein's edition:—

### BOOK VIII

Ch. 1–5. The Greek fleet at Artemisium; question of supreme command; bribery of Themistocles by the Euboeans.

Ch. 6–14. Despatch of a Persian squadron to sail round Euboea, and its destruction by a storm. Effect of the storm on the rest of the Persian fleet; first encounter between the two fleets.

Ch. 15–17. Second battle off Artemisium.

Ch. 18–23. Retreat of the Greeks; Themistocles' attempt to tamper with the Ionians; Persian occupation of Euboea.

Ch. 24–33. Visit of Persian sailors to the field of Thermopylae. Olympic festival (26). Fends of Thessalians and Phocians; Persian advance through Phocis (27–33).

Ch. 34–39. Persian march through Boeotia, and unsuccessful attempt upon Delphi.

Ch. 40–48. Abandonment of Attica by the Athenians; the Greek fleet at Salamis.

Ch. 49–55. Greek council of war; Persian invasion of Attica and occupation of Athens.

## INTRODUCTION

Ch. 56–64. Greek design to withdraw the fleet to the Isthmus of Corinth. Decision to remain at Salamis, by Themistocles' advice.

Ch. 65. Dicaeus' vision near Eleusis.

Ch. 66–69. Persian fleet at Phalerum; advice given by Artemisia in a council of war.

Ch. 70–73. Greek fortification of the Isthmus. Digression on the various Peloponnesian nationalities.

Ch. 74–82. Unwillingness of the Peloponnesians to remain at Salamis. Themistocles' design to compel them; his message to Xerxes, and Persian movement to encircle the Greeks. Announcement of this by Aristides.

Ch. 83–96. Battle of Salamis.

Ch. 97–99. Xerxes' intention to retreat; news at Susa of the capture of Athens and the battle of Salamis.

Ch. 100–102. Advice given to Xerxes by Mardonius and Artemisia.

Ch. 103–106. Story of the revenge of Hermotimus.

Ch. 107–110. Flight of Persian fleet, and Greek pursuit as far as Andros; Themistocles' message to Xerxes.

Ch. 111, 112. Siege of Andros, and demands made by Themistocles on various islands.

Ch. 113. Mardonius' selection of his army.

Ch. 114–120. Incidents in Xerxes' retreat.

Ch. 121–125. Greek division of spoil and assignment of honours; Themistocles' reception at Sparta.

Ch. 126–129. Artabazus' capture of Olynthus and siege of Potidaea, during the winter.

Ch. 130–132. Greek and Persian fleets at Aegina and Samos respectively (spring of 479). Leutychides' command. Message to the Greeks from the Ionians.

## INTRODUCTION

Ch. 133–135. Mardonius' consultation of Greek oracles.

Ch. 136–139. Mission to Athens of Alexander of Macedonia; origin of his dynasty.

Ch. 140–144. Speeches at Athens of Alexander and the Spartan envoys; Athenian answer to both.

## BOOK IX

Ch. 1–5. Mardonius in Attica; his fresh proposals to the Athenians.

Ch. 6–11. Hesitation of the Spartans to send troops; appeals made by the Athenians; eventual despatch of a force.

Ch. 12–15. Argive warning to Mardonius; his march to Megara and withdrawal thence to Boeotia.

Ch. 16–18. Story of a banquet at Thebes, and Mardonius' test of a Phocian contingent.

Ch. 19–25. The Greeks at Erythrae; repulse of Persian cavalry attack, and death of its leader; Greek change of position.

Ch. 26–27. Rival claim of Tegeans and Athenians for the post of honour.

Ch. 28–32. Battle array of Greek and Persian armies.

Ch. 33–37. Stories of the diviners in the two armies.

Ch. 38–43. Persian attack on a Greek convoy; Mardonius' council of war and determination to fight.

Ch. 44–51. Alexander's warning to the Athenians; attempted change of Greek and Persian formation; Mardonius' challenge to the Spartans, and retreat of Greeks to a new position.

## INTRODUCTION

Ch. 52-57. Flight of the Greek centre; Amompharetus' refusal to change his ground.

Ch. 58-65. Battle of Plataea; initial success of Spartans and Tegeans.

Ch. 66-69. Flight of Artabazus; Athenian success against the Boeotians; disaster to part of the Greek army.

Ch. 70-75. Assault and capture of the Persian fortified camp. Distinctions of various Greek fighters.

Ch. 76-79. Pausanias' reception of the Coan female suppliant; the Mantineans and Eleans after the battle; Lampon's proposal to Pausanias and his reply.

Ch. 80-85. Greek division of the spoil and burial of the dead.

Ch. 86-89. Siege of Thebes and punishment of Theban leaders; retreat of Artabazus.

Ch. 90-95. Envoys from Samos with the Greek fleet. Story of the diviner Euenius.

Ch. 96-105. Movements preliminary to the battle of Mycale, and Greek victory there.

Ch. 106, 107. Greek deliberation at Samos; quarrel between Persian leaders.

Ch. 108-113. Story of Xerxes' adultery and cruelty, and the fate of his brother Masistes.

Ch. 114-121. Capture of Sestus by the Greeks; sacrilege of Artayctes, and his execution.

Ch. 122. Cyrus' advice to the Persians to prefer hardship to comfort.

In the eighth and ninth books the central subjects are the battles of Salamis and Plataea respectively. Herodotus describes the preliminaries of Salamis,

## INTRODUCTION

and both the operations prior to Plataea and the actual battle, with much detail; and his narrative has given rise to a good deal of controversy. Sometimes it is difficult to reconcile his story with the facts of geography. Sometimes, it is alleged, he is contradicted by the only other real authority for the sea fight at Salamis, Aeschylus. More often, he is said to sin against the laws of probability. He makes generals and armies do things which are surprising; and this is alleged to detract from his credit; for a historian, who allows generals and armies to disregard known rules of war, is plainly suspect, and at best the dupe of camp gossip, if not animated by partiality or even malice.

As to the battle of Salamis, a mere translator has no desire to add greatly to the literature of controversy. But it is worth while to review Herodotus' account. On the day before the battle, the Persian fleet, apparently, lay along the coast of Attica, its eastern wing being near Munychia; the Greeks being at Salamis, opposite to and rather less than a mile distant from Xerxes' ships. During the night, Persian ships were detached to close the two entrances of the straits between the mainland and Salamis. At dawn of the following day, the Greeks rowed out and made a frontal attack on the Persians facing them.

This account is questioned by the learned, mainly on two grounds; firstly, because (it is alleged) the Persians, if they originally lay along the Attic coast, could not have closed the two entrances of the straits without the knowledge of the Greeks; secondly, because Herodotus' narrative differs from that given by Aeschylus, in the *Persae*, a play

## INTRODUCTION

produced only eight years after the battle. As to the first objection, the Persian manoeuvre was executed in darkness, and by small vessels, not modern battleships : it is surely not incredible that the Greeks should have been unaware of its full execution. As to the second ground of criticism,—that Herodotus and Aeschylus do not agree, and that Aeschylus must be held the better authority,—it still remains to be shown in what the alleged discrepancy consists. It is a fact which appears to escape the observation of the learned that Aeschylus is writing a poetic drama, and not a despatch. His manner of telling the story certainly differs from that of Herodotus ; but the facts which he relates appear to be the same : and in all humility I cannot but suggest that if commentators would re-read their Herodotus and their Aeschylus in parallel columns, without (if this be not too much to ask) an *a priori* desire to catch Herodotus tripping, some of them, at least, would eventually be able to reconcile the historian with the tragedian. For Aeschylus nowhere contradicts what is apparently the view of Herodotus,—that the Persians, or their main body, lay along the Attic coast opposite Salamis when the Greeks sailed out to attack them, Messrs. How and Wells (*quor honoris causa nomine*) say that this was probably not so, because, according to Aeschylus, "some time" elapsed before the Persians could see the Greek advance, and the strait is only one thousand five hundred yards wide. But as a matter of fact, Aeschylus does not say that some time elapsed. His expression is θως δὲ πάντες ἤδη ἐκφαντίσθαι—“quickly they were all plain to view.”

## INTRODUCTION

Herodotus' narrative of the manœuvres of Mardonius' and Pausanias' armies near Plataea is, like most descriptions of battles, not always very clear. It is full of detail; but as some of the localities mentioned cannot be quite certainly identified, the details are not always easy to understand; and it must be confessed that there are gaps in the story. For instance, we must presume (though meritorious efforts are made to explain the statement away) that Herodotus means what he says when he asserts in Ch. 15 that Mardonius' army occupied the ground "from Erythrae past Hysiae"; the Persians, therefore, were then on the right bank of the Asopus; yet soon afterwards they are, according to the historian's equally plain statement, on the left bank. Hence there are real obscurities; and the narrative is not without picturesque and perhaps rather surprising incidents; which some commentators (being rather like M. About's gendarmerie, persons whose business it is to see that nothing unusual happens in the locality) promptly dismiss as "camp gossip." Altogether, what with obscurity and camp gossip, scholars have given themselves a fairly free hand to reconstruct the operations before Plataea as they must have happened—unless indeed "someone had blundered," an hypothesis which, apparently, ought only to be accepted in the very last resort, and hardly then if its acceptance implies Herodotus' veracity. Reconstruction of history is an amusing game, and has its uses, especially in places of education, where it is played with distinguished success; yet one may still doubt whether rejection of what after all is our only real authority brings the public any nearer to

## INTRODUCTION

knowing what did actually happen. Strategists and tacticians do make mistakes; thus, generally, are battles lost and won; and unreasonable incidents do occur. However, it is fair to say that most of the reconstruction of Salamis and Plataea was done before August, 1914.

But here, as elsewhere in his history, Herodotus' authority is much impaired by the presumption, popular since Plutarch, of a pro-Athenian bias which leads him to falsify history by exaggerating the merit of Athens at the expense of other states, especially Sparta. Now we may readily believe that if Herodotus lived for some time at Athens, he was willing enough to do ample justice to her achievements; but if he is to be charged with undue and unjust partiality, and consequent falsification, then it must be shown that the conduct which he attributes to Athens and to Sparta is somehow not consistent with what one would naturally expect, from the circumstances of the case, and from what we know, *aliunde*, about those two states. Scholars who criticise Herodotus on grounds of probability ought to be guided by their own canon. If a historian is to be discredited where his narrative does not accord with what is antecedently probable, then he must be allowed to gain credit where antecedent probability is on his side; and there is nothing in Herodotus' account of Athenian and Spartan actions during the campaigns of 480 and 479 which disagrees with the known character of either people. *Pace* the socialistic conception of an unrelieved similarity among all states and individuals, the Athenians of the fifth century, B.C., were an exceptional people; their record is not precisely the

## INTRODUCTION

record of Boeotia or Arcadia; it seems fair to say, without appealing to Herodotus' testimony, that they were more gifted, and more enterprising, than most. The spirit of the Hellenic world is general,—intense local patriotism, intense fear and hatred of Oriental absolutism and strange worships,—was more alive among the Athenians, probably, than in any other Greek state. Sparta also had her share of these qualities; she too would make no terms with the Persian; only her methods of resistance were different. Primarily, each state was interested in its own safety. To Spartans—disinclined to methods other than traditional, and as yet unaccustomed to naval warfare—it seemed that Sparta could be best defended by blocking the land access to the Peloponnese; they would defend the Isthmus successfully, as they had tried and failed to defend Thermopylae. This meant, of course, the sacrifice of Attica; and naturally that was a sacrifice not to be made willingly by Athenians. Their only chance of saving or recovering Attica lay in fighting a naval action close to its coasts; nay, the abandonment of Salamis meant the exposure of their dependents to fresh dangers; therefore, they pressed for the policy of meeting and defeating the Persian where he lay by the Attic coast. This policy was to prove successful; and thereby, the Athenians incidentally accomplished what was undoubtedly also their object, the salvation of Hellas; but the primary purpose of both Sparta and Athens, both before Salamis and before Plataea (when the Athenians were naturally displeased by a plan which left Attica a prey to the enemy) was undoubtedly to do the best they could for themselves.

## INTRODUCTION

This, in fact, was always the desire of all Greek states, as of most others in the history of the world; and as the actions of both Athens and Sparta were the natural outcome of that desire, there is no need to suspect Herodotus of unduly favouring the Athenians when he credits them with the plans which led to victory, or of unduly disparaging the Spartans when he describes their delays and hesitations before their march to Boeotia.

If the charge of an excessively pro-Athenian bias is to be sustained, it must be shown that Herodotus is prone to deny credit to the great rival of Athens. But there is no evidence of that. Sparta receives full measure from Herodotus. No Spartan could conceivably have been dissatisfied with the chapters on Thermopylae. Plataea is represented as a Spartan victory; it was the Spartans and Tegeans who in Herodotus' story were the real heroes of the day; the glory of winning "the greatest victory ever won" is definitely given to the Spartan commander-in-chief. On the other hand Themistocles, the typical Athenian, is treated with a severity which even appears to be rather gratuitous. It is true that Herodotus does not take pains to praise two other Greek states which at various times were at feud with Athens. He tells us that the Thebans "medized," a fact which has not, I believe, been denied, even by Plutarch; it is difficult to see what else he could have said. True, he reports a damaging story about the Corinthians and their failure to take part in the action of Salamis; but he adds, in his candid way, that nobody believes the story outside Attica.

The hypothesis of Herodotus' "obvious pro-

## INTRODUCTION

"Athenian bias" is one which is bound to appeal to readers who are laudably afraid of being led away by hero-worship; but it has one fault—it lacks evidence.

With the crowning victory of Mycale, where for the first time a Persian army was defeated by a Greek within the boundaries of the Persian empire, the history of the war comes to an end. But the chapters which conclude Book IX are no anti-climax; they are congruous with the whole, part and parcel of the narrative, and as striking an example of Herodotus' supreme art as any passage in his history. What was it after all (a reader might be supposed to ask) that nerved most of the Greeks to resist Darius' and Xerxes' powerful armaments? The answer is plain; it was fear of the caprice and cruelty of Oriental despots, and desire to protect Greek temples from sacrilege. These concluding chapters illustrate and justify the Greek temper. The methods of Persian absolutism are vividly portrayed in the gruesome story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death; and the crucified body of Artayctes, the defiler of temples, hangs by the Hellespontian shore, overlooking the scene of Xerxes' proudest achievement and display, as a warning to all sacrilegious invaders; so perish all who lay impious hands on the religion of Hellas! . . . The story is now complete. The play is played; and in the last chapter of the book, Cyrus the great protagonist of the drama is called before the curtain to speak its epilogue.

[Besides the authorities enumerated at the beginning of Vol. I of this translation, the following

## INTRODUCTION

sources are recommended to the students of the campaigns of Salamis and Plataea:—

G. B. Grundy, *The Great Persian War.*

J. A. R. Munro, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxii. 323–32 and xxiv. 144–65.

Prof. Goodwin, *Harvard Studies of Classical Philology*, 1906, pp. 75 ff.]

HERODOTUS  
BOOK VIII

# ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

## Θ

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἵδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτά· ὑπὸ δὲ ἄρετῆς τε καὶ προδυμίης Πλαταιέες ἅπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἔντες συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσερύκοντα νέας παρείχοντο. Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι. Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας. Λίγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαΐδεκα. Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυοκιδεκα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα. Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὁκτώ. Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἑπτά. Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε. Στυρέες δὲ δέο. καὶ Κήιοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο. Λοκροὶ δέ σφι οἱ Ὁπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτά.

2. Ἡσαν μὲν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἰρηται δέ μοι καὶ ώς τὸ πλῆθος ἔκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἄριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσιαι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. τὸν δὲ στρατιγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυθιάδην Εύρυκλείδεων.

# HERODOTUS

## BOOK VIII

1. THE Greeks appointed to serve in the fleet were these: the Athenians furnished a hundred and twenty-seven ships; the Plataeans manned these ships with the Athenians, not that they had any knowledge of seamanship, but of mere valour and zeal. The Corinthians furnished forty ships, and the Megarians twenty; and the Chalcidians manned twenty, the Athenians furnishing the ships; the Aeginetans eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, the Lacedaemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Troezenians five, the Styrians two, and the Ceans two, and two fifty-oared barks; and the Opuntian Locrians brought seven fifty-oared barks to their aid.

2. These were they who came to Artemisium for battle; and I have now shown how they severally furnished the whole sum. The number of ships that mustered at Artemisium was two hundred and seventy one, besides the fifty-oared barks. But the admiral who had the chief command was of the Spartans' providing, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides;

## HERODOTUS

οι γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύη, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα.

3. Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἡ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν εἶη ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰκονοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασίασουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς ὑπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὅρθὰ νοεῦντες στάσις γὰρ ἐμφυλος πολέμου ὄμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κάκιον ἐστὶν ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ὡν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἀλλ' εἰκον, μέχρι ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὑπάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἥδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πανσανίεω ὑβριν προϊσχόμενοι ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὡς εἰδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς ἀπανταπλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἡ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβούλευντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιου ἐσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γνόντες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοίες ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδεω προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἀν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθοντι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα

<sup>1</sup> After the capture of Byzantium in 476 B.C.

## BOOK VIII. 2-4

for the allies said, that if the Laconian were not their leader they would rather make an end of the fleet that was preparing than be led by the Athenians.

3. For in the first days, before the sending to Sicily for alliance there, there had been talk of entrusting the command at sea to the Athenians. But when the allies withheld this, the Athenians waived their claim, deeming the safety of Hellas of prime moment, and seeing that if they quarrelled over the leadership Hellas must perish; wherein they judged rightly; for civil strife is as much worse than united war as war is worse than peace. Knowing that, they gave ground and waived their claim, but only so long as they had great need of the others, as was shown; for when they had driven the Persian back and the battle was no longer for their territory but for his, they made a pretext of Pausanias' highhandedness and took the command away from the Lacedaemonians. But all that befel later.<sup>1</sup>

4. But now, the Greeks who had at last come to Artemisium saw a multitude of ships launched at Aphetae, and armaments everywhere, and contrary to all expectation the foreigner was shown to be in far other case than they had supposed; wherefore they lost heart and began to take counsel for flight from Artemisium homewards into Hellas. Then the Euboeans, seeing them to be thus planning, entreated Eurybiades to wait a little while, till they themselves should have brought away their children and households. But when they could not prevail with him, they essayed another way, and gave Themistocles, the Athenian admiral, a bribe of

## HERODOTUS

ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ὁ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην.

δ. Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης τοὺς "Ελληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὡδε ποιέειν Εύρυθιάδη τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδίδοι πέρτε τάλαντα ὡς παρ' ἔωστοῦ δῆθεν διδούνε. ὡς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὄκυτου ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἱσπαιρε μοῦνος, φάμενος ὑποπλευσεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν, πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπομόσας "Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέξω δῶρα δώσω ἢ Βασιλεὺς αὖ τοι ὁ Μῆδων πέμψειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους." ταῦτά τε ἄμα ἡγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδειμάντου ταλαντα ὑργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πάντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχώριστο, αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐκέρδην, ἐλάτθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἡπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

ε. Οὗτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, ἐγένετο δέ ὡδε. ἐπείτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δεῖλην πρωίην γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἴδοντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κιν ἐλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλέειν οὐ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἶνεκα, μή κας ἴδοντες οἱ "Ελληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμησειαν φεύγοιτάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνη, καὶ ἐμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ

## BOOK VIII. 4-6

thirty talents on the condition that the Greek fleet should remain there and fight, when they fought, to defend Euboea.

5. This was the way whereby Themistocles made the Greeks to stay where they were: he gave Eurybiades for his share five talents of that money, as though it were of his own that he gave it. Eurybiades being thus won over, none of the rest was of a resisting temper save only Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, who said that he would not remain but sail away from Artemisium; to him said Themistocles, adding an oath thereto: "Nay, you of all men will not desert us; for I will give you a greater gift than the king of the Medes would send you for deserting your allies"; and with that saying he sent withal three talents of silver to Adimantus' ship. So these two were won over by gifts, the Euboeans got their desire, and Themistocles himself was the gainer; he kept the rest of the money, none knowing, but they that had received a part of it supposing that it had been sent for that intent by the Athenians.

6. So the Greeks abode off Euboea and there fought; and it came about as I shall show. Having arrived at Aphetae in the early part of the afternoon, the foreigners saw for themselves the few Greek ships that they had already heard were stationed off Artemisium, and they were eager to attack, that so they might take them. Now they were not yet minded to make an onfall front to front, for fear lest the Greeks should see them coming and take to flight, and night close upon them as they fled; it was their belief that the Greeks would save themselves by flight, and by the

## HERODOTUS

πυρφόρου τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.

7. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὅν τάδε ἐμηχανώντο τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὁφθείησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσαι Εὔβοιαν κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὔριπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικάμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὄδόν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔξι ἐμαρτίῃ. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι "Ἐλλησι ἐπιθῆσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανῆσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλεόντων ὡς ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι "Αφέτησι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμὸν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν φέρεται ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, ἥν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, δε καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένῃ πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς "Ἐλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε. διτεφ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς "Ἐλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἔστι ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἔξι "Αφετέων δύες ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὸν ἡ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστα καὶ τούτους ἐς ὅγδωκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης

## BOOK VIII. 6-8

Persian purpose not so much as a firebearer<sup>1</sup> of them must be saved alive.

7. Wherefore this was the plan that they devised. Separating two hundred ships from the whole number, they sent them to cruise outside Sciatthus (that so the enemies might not see them sailing round Euboea) and by way of Caphereus round Geraestus to the Euripus, so that they might catch the Greeks between them, the one part holding that course and barring the retreat, and they themselves attacking in front. Thus planning, they sent the appointed ships on their way, purposing for themselves to make no attack upon the Greeks that day, nor before the signal should be seen whereby the ships that sailed round were to declare their coming. So they sent those ships to sail round, and set about numbering the rest at Aphetae.

8. Now at the time of their numbering the ships, there was in the fleet one Scyllias, a man of Scioue; he was the best diver of the time, and in the shipwreck at Pelion he had saved for the Persians much of their possessions and won much wealth for himself; this Scyllias had ere now, it would seem, purposed to desert to the Greeks, but he never had had so fair an occasion as now. By what means he did thereafter at last make his way to the Greeks, I cannot with exactness say; but if the story be true it is marvellous indeed; for it is said that he dived into the sea at Aphetae and never rose above it till he came to Artemisium, thus passing underneath the sea for about eighty furlongs.

<sup>1</sup> The *hypopōs* carried the sacred fire which was always kept alight for the sacrifices of the army; his person was supposed to be inviolable.

## HERODOTUS

διεξελθών. λέγεται μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἰκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχω πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ουργήν ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθέσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὔβοιαν.

9. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ "Ελλῆνες λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἔδιδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαυτᾶν τῇσι περιπλεούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλεε, δείλημν ὅφίην γνωμένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐπανέπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς Βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

10. Ὁρῶντες δὲ σφέας οἵ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας νηισὶ ὀλίγῃσι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες ἀγῆργον καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰς νέας, ἀλπίσαντες σφέας εὐπετέως αἴρηστεν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἀλπίσαντες, τὰς μέρη γε τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὄρῶντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἔωντάν πλήθετ τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἀμεινον πλεούσας. καταφρογήσαντες ταῦτα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. δσοι μέρη νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εἴναιοι τοῖσι "Ελλῆσι, ἀέκαυτές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορήν τε ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην ὄρῶντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθετέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων πρῆγματα. δσοισι δὲ καὶ ἥδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἀμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο ὄκως

## BOOK VIII. 8-10

There are many tales of this man, some like lies and some true; but as concerning the present business it is my opinion, which I hereby declare, that he came to Artemisium in a boat. Having then come, he straightway told the admirals the story of the shipwreck, and of the ships that had been sent round Euboea.

9. Hearing that, the Greeks took counsel together; there was much speaking, but the opinion prevailed that they should abide and encamp where they were for that day, and thereafter when it should be past midnight put to sea and meet the ships that were sailing round. But presently, none attacking them, they waited for the late afternoon of the day and themselves advanced their ships against the foreigner, desiring to put to the proof his fashion of fighting and the art of breaking the line.<sup>1</sup>

10. When Xerxes' men and their generals saw the Greeks bearing down on them with but a few ships, they deemed them assuredly mad, and themselves put out to sea, thinking to win an easy victory; which expectation was very reasonable, as they saw the Greek ships so few, and their own many times more numerous and more seaworthy. With this assurance, they hemmed in the Greeks in their midst. Now as many Ionians as were friendly to the Greeks came unwillingly to the war, and were sore distressed to see the Greeks surrounded, supposing that not one of them would return home; so powerless did the Greeks seem to them to be. But those who were glad of the business vied each with each that he might be the first to take an

<sup>1</sup> For the *εὐτέλεια* see Bk. VI. ch. 12.

## HERODOTUS

αύτὸς ἔκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν παρὰ βασιλέως δῶρα λάμψεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀπίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος ἔργου εἰχοντο ἐν δλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἱρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλίου τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἔόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἄνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Λισχραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήιον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτη ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαις ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀιτίδωρος Λήμυνος μοῦνος τῶν σὺν βασιλέϊ Ἑλλήνων ἔόντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

12. Ως δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἷν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὅδωρ τε ἀπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς ινκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυῆγια ἴξεφέροντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπίων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἵα κακὰ ἥκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἦ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σφέας ἐκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ

Attic ship and receive gifts from the king; for it was the Athenians of whom there was most talk in the fleet.

11. But the Greeks, when the signal was given them, first drew the sterns of their ships together, their prows turned towards the foreigners; then at the second signal they put their hands to the work, albeit they were hemmed in within a narrow space and fought front to front. There they took thirty of the foreigners' ships and the brother of Gorgus king of Salamis withal, even Philoön son of Chersis, a man of note in the fleet. The first Greek to take an enemy ship was an Athenian, Lycomedes, son of Aeschræus, and he it was who received the prize for valour. They fought that seafight with doubtful issue, and nightfall ended the battle: the Greeks sailed back to Artemisium, and the foreigners to Aphetae, after faring far below their hopes in the fight. In that battle Antidorus of Lemnos deserted to the Greeks, alone of all the Greeks that were with the king; and for that the Athenians gave him lands in Salamis.

12. When darkness came on, the season being then midsummer, there was abundance of rain all through the night and violent thunderings from Pelion; and the dead and the wrecks were driven towards Aphetae, where they were entangled with the ships' prows and fouled the blades of the oars. The ships' companies that were there were dismayed by the noise of this, and looked in their present evil case for utter destruction; for before they were

## HERODOTUS

χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε  
ραυμαχίη καρτερή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ραυμαχίης ὅμβρος  
τε λάθρος καὶ ρέυματα ίσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν  
όρμημένα βρονταῖ τε σκληραῖ.

13. Καὶ τούτοισι μὲν τοιαύτῃ ἡ νὺξ ἐγίνετο,  
τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὔβοιαν οὐ  
αὐτῇ περ ἔσυστα νὺξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη,  
τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε,  
καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγίνετο ἄχαρι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ  
πλέουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὄδωρ ἐπεγίνετο  
ἔσυστι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ  
πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἔξεπιπτον  
πρὸς τὰς πέτρας· ἐποιέετο τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θευῦ  
ὅκως ἀν ἔξισθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν  
μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἶη.

14. Οὗτοι μέν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης  
διεφθείροντο· οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀφέτυσι βάρβαροι, ὡς  
σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, ὑτρέμας τε  
είχον τὰς νέας καὶ σφι ἀπεχράτο κακῶς πρήσ-  
σουσι ἡσυχίην ἥγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ  
Ἑλλησι ἐπεβοήθεον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα  
Ἀττικαῖ. αὗται τε δή σφεας ἐπέρρωσταν ὑπι-  
κόμεναι καὶ ἄμα ἀγγελίη ἐλθοῦσα, ὡς τῶν βαρ-  
βάρων οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν Εὔβοιαν πάντες εἴησαν  
διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλά-  
ξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλέοντες ἐπέπεσον  
νηνσὶ Κιλίσησι ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὡς  
εὐφρόνη ἐγίνετο, ὑπέπλεον ὅπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ  
Ἀρτεμίσιον.

15. Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ  
στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὗτοι σφι ὀλίγας  
λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες,

recovered after the shipwreck and the storm off Pelion, they next must abide a stubborn sea-fight, and after the sea-fight rushing rain and mighty torrents pouring seaward and violent thunders.

13. Thus did the night deal with them; but to those that were appointed to sail round Eubœa that same night was much crueler yet, inasmuch as it caught them on the open sea; and an evil end they had. For the storm and the rain coming on them in their course off the Hollows of Eubœa, they were driven by the wind they knew not whither, and were cast upon the rocks. All this was the work of heaven's providence, that so the Persian power might be more equally matched with the Greek, and not much greater than it.

14. So these perished at the Hollows of Eubœa. But the foreigners at Aphetae, when to their great comfort the day dawned, kept their ships unmoved, being in their evil plight well content to do nothing for the nonce; and fifty-three Attic ships came to aid the Greeks, who were heartened by the ships' coming and the news brought withal that the foreigners sailing round Eubœa had all perished in the late storm. They waited then for the same hour as before, and putting to sea fell upon certain Cilician ships; which having destroyed, when darkness came on, they returned back to Artemisium.

15. But on the third day, the foreign admirals, ill brooking that so few ships should do them hurt, and fearing Xerxes' anger, waited no longer for the

## HERODOTUS

οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἑλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι,  
ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης  
ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὅστε τὰς αὐτὰς  
ἡμέρας τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ  
τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλησι. ἦρ δὲ  
πᾶς ὁ ἄγων τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ  
Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδῃ τὴν ἐσβολὴν  
φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρακελεύοντο δκως μὴ  
παρήσουσι ἐε τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ  
δ' δκως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες  
τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. ὡς δὲ ταξίδιοι οἱ  
Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλεον, οἱ Ἑλληνες ἀτρέμας ἀχοι  
πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μηνοειδὲς  
ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλοῦντο, ὡς περιλάρθροιν  
αὐτούς.

16. Ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπανέπλεον τε καὶ  
συνέμισθον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι  
ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ  
μεγάθεος τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωτοῦ  
ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περι-  
πιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντεῖχε  
καὶ οὐκ εἶκε δειρὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
νεῶν ὀλιγέων ἐε φυγὴν τραπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν  
δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο πολλοὶ δὲ  
ἄνδρες, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρ-  
βάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὗτοι δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν  
χωρὶς ἑκάτεροι.

17. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Λίγυπτοι μὲν τῶν  
Ξέρξεω στρατιωτέων ἡρίστευσαν, οἱ δὲλλα τε  
μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἄνδραίσι  
εἴλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ  
ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ  
ιβ

Greeks to begin the fight, but gave the word and put out to sea about midday. And it so fell out that these sea-battles were fought through the same days as the land-battles at Thermopylae; the seamen's whole endeavour was to hold the Euripus, as Leonidas' men strove to guard the passage; the Greek battle word was to give the foreigner no entry into Hellas, and the Persian to destroy the Greek host and win the strait. So when Xerxes' men ordered their battle and came on, the Greeks abode in their place off Artemisium; and the foreigners made a half circle of their ships, and strove to encircle and enclose them round.

16. At that the Greeks charged and joined battle. In that sea-fight both had equal success. For Xerxes' fleet wrought itself harm by its numbers and multitude: the ships were thrown into confusion and ran foul of each other; nevertheless they held fast, nor yielded, for they could not bear to be put to flight by a few ships. Many were the Greek ships and men that there perished, and far more yet of the foreigners' ships and men; thus they battled, till they drew off and parted each from other.

17. In that sea-fight of all Xerxes' fighters the Egyptians bore themselves best; besides other great feats of arms that they achieved, they took five Greek ships and their crews withal. Of the Greeks on that day the Athenians bore themselves best;

## HERODOTUS

·Αθηναίων Κλεινής ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδεω, ὃς δαπάνην  
οικηίην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε  
διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκηίῃ νηί.

18. Ός δὲ διέστησαν, ἄσμενοι ἐκάτεροι ἐς  
ὅρμον ἥπειγοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ὡς διακριθέντες  
ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ἀπηλλύχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν  
καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχέως δὲ περιε-  
φθέιτες, καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἱ ἡμίσεαι  
τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβούλευον  
ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

19. Νόῳ δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ὡς εἰ  
ἀπορραγεῖη ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἰωνικὸν  
φῦλον καὶ τὸ Καρικόν, οἷοί τε εἶησαν ἀν τῶν  
λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν  
Εὐβοίων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην.  
συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς δοκέοι  
ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέος  
συμμάχων ἀποστῆσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους. ταῦτα  
μέν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμιου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι  
κατίκουσι πρίγμασι τύδε ποιητέα σφι εἴναι  
ἔλεγε, τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταθύειν  
δοσα τις ἐθέλοι κρέσσον γὰρ εἴναι τὴν στρατιὴν  
ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους παραίνεε τε προειπεῖν  
τοῖσι ἑωυτῶι ἐκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· καμιδῆς  
δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν, ὥστε ὑσινέας  
ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἥρεσέ σφι  
ποιέειν, καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράποντο  
πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

20. Οι γὰρ Εὐβοίες, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν  
Βάκιδος χρησμὸν ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι  
ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προσεσύξαντο ὡς παρε-

## BOOK VIII. 17-20

and of the Athenians Clinias son of Alcibiades; he brought to the war two hundred men and a ship of his own, all at his private charges.

18. So they parted and each right gladly made haste to his own anchorage. When the Greeks had drawn off and come out of the battle, they were left masters of the dead and the wrecks; but they had had rough handling, and chiefly the Athenians, half of whose ships had suffered hurt; and now their counsel was to flee to the inner waters of Hellas.<sup>1</sup>

19. Themistocles bethought him that if the Ionian and Carian nations were rent away from the foreigners, the Greeks might be strong enough to get the upper hand of the rest. Now it was the wont of the Euboeans to drive their flocks down to the sea there. Wherefore gathering the admirals together he told them that he thought he had a device whereby he hoped to draw away the best of the king's allies. So much he revealed for the nonce; but in the present turn of affairs this (he said) they must do: let everyone slay as many as he would from the Euboean flocks; it was better that the fleet should have them, than the enemy. Moreover he counselled them each to bid his men to light a fire; as for the time of their going thence, he would take such thought for that as should bring them seathless to Hellas. All this they agreed to do; and forthwith they lit fires and then laid hands on the flocks.

20. For the Euboeans had neglected the oracle of Bacis, deeming it void of meaning, and neither by carrying away nor by bringing in anything had

<sup>1</sup> This means, I suppose, to the sea nearer their homes.

## HERODOTUS

σομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐπαιήσαντο  
σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα. Βάκιδι γάρ ὡδε  
ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός.

φράζεο, βαρβαρόφωνος δταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἄλλα  
βάλλῃ  
βύθιμον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας  
αίγας.

τούτοισι οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεσι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι  
τότε παρεοῦσι τε καὶ προσδοκίμοισι κακοῖσι  
παρῆν σφι συμφορῇ χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

21. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπρησσον, παρῆν δὲ ὁ  
ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτε-  
μισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Λυτικυρένης,  
τῷ προστετάκτῳ, καὶ εἴχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἔτο-  
μον, εἰ ταλήσειε ὁ γαυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν  
τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἔοιστι ὡς δ' αὐτῶς ἦν  
Ἀβράνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ  
Λεωνίδῃ ἔτομος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἔοισι  
ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώ-  
τερον τὸν πεζὸν. οὗτος ὡς ὁ Ἀβράνιχος ἀπι-  
κομεῖός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην  
καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο  
ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀπο-  
χώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἔκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν,  
Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, μαστατοί δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

22. Ἀθηναῖων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας  
ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ  
πότιμα ὑδάτα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι γράμ-  
ματα, τὰ "Ιωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ  
ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισίον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα  
τάδε ἐλεγε. "Ανδρες Ιωνες, οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια

they shown that they feared an enemy's coming; whereby they were the cause of their own destruction; for Baeis' oracle concerning this matter runs thus:

"Whenso a strange-tongued man on the waves  
casts yoke of papyrus,  
Then let bleating goats from coasts Euboean be  
banished."

To these verses the Euboeans gave no heed; but in the evils then present and soon to come they could not but heed their dire calamity.

21. While the Greeks were doing as I have said, there came to them the watcher from Trachis. For there was a watcher at Artemisium, one Polyas, a native of Anticyra, who was charged (and had a rowing boat standing ready therefor), if the fleet should be at grips, to declare it to the men at Thermopylae; and in like manner, if any ill should befall the land army, Abromichus son of Lysicles, an Athenian, was with Leonidas, ready for his part to bring the news in a thirty-oared bark to the Greeks at Artemisium. So this Abromichus came and declared to them the fate of Leonidas and his army; which when the Greeks learnt, they no longer delayed their departure, but went their ways in their appointed order, the Corinthians first, and last of all the Athenians.

22. But Themistocles picked out the seaworthiest Athenian ships and went about to the places of drinking water, where he engraved on the rocks writing which the Ionians read on the next day when they came to Artemisium. This was what the writing said: "Men of Ionia, you do wrongly

## HERODOTUS

έπι τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδηνλουμένοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ὥμεων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἔστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ὧμιν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶον τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπ' ἀναγκαῖης μέζουνος κατέχευχθε ἡ ὕστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπειν συμμίσγωμεν, ἔθελοκακέετε μεμυημένοι δτὶ ἀπ' ἡμέων γέγονατε καὶ δτὶ ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὥμεων ὧμιν γέγονε." Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραφε, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα νοέοντες, ἵνα ἡ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἰωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπειτε ἀγενειχθῆ καὶ διαβληθῆ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστοντα ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιέων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχυ.

23. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοιοῖς ἤλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαιεὺς ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δὲ ὅπ' ἀπιστίῃς τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, γέας δὲ ταχέας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοψομένας ἀπαγγειλάστων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, αὕτω δὴ ἀμα ἤδιτο σκιδναμένῳ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπέπλεε ἀλλὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαιην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐσχον τῶν Ἰστιαιέων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίης μοίρης γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας χωρας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

24. Ἐιθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἔοντων, Ξέρξης ἐτο-

to fight against the land of your fathers and bring slavery upon Hellas. It were best of all that you should join yourselves to us; but if that be impossible for you, then do you even now withdraw yourselves from the war, and entreat the Carians to do the same as you. If neither of these things may be, and you are fast bound by such constraint that you cannot rebel, yet we pray you not to use your full strength in the day of battle; be mindful that you are our sons and that our quarrel with the foreigner was of your making in the beginning." To my thinking Themistocles thus wrote with a double intent, that if the king knew nought of the writing it might make the Ionians to change sides and join with the Greeks, and that if the writing were maliciously reported to Xerxes he might thereby be led to mistrust the Ionians, and keep them out of the sea-fights.

23. Such was Themistocles' writing. Immediately after this there came to the foreigners a man of Histiaeia in a boat, telling them of the flight of the Greeks from Artemisium. Not believing this, they kept the bringer of the news in ward, and sent swift ships to spy out the matter; and when the crews of these brought word of the truth, on learning that, the whole armada at the first spreading of sun-light sailed all together to Artemisium, where having waited till midday, they next sailed to Histiaeia, and on their coming took possession of the Histiaeans' city, and overran all the villages on the seaboard of the Ellopian<sup>1</sup> region, which is the land of Histiaeia.

24. While they were there, Xerxes sent a herald

<sup>1</sup> The northern half of Eubœa, including the district of Histiaeia.

## HERODOTUS

μασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπειπτε ἐς τὸν  
ραυτικὸν στρατὸν κίρικα, πρωτοιμάσσατο δὲ  
τάδε· δοπὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἡσαν νεκροὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι (ἡσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες),  
ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς  
τάφρους ὄρυξάμενος ἔθαψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν  
καὶ γῆν ἐπαμησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθείησπεν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
ραυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην  
οἱ κῆρυκες, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρα-  
τοπέδου ἐλεγε τάδε. “Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασι-  
λεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι  
ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θείσασθαι ὅκως  
μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἵ  
ῆλπισαν τὴν βασιλέος δύναμιν ὑπερβαλέεσθαι.”

25. Ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένον, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν  
ἔγινετο πλοίων σπασιώτερον· οὐτοὶ πολλοὶ ἥθελον  
θείσασθαι, διαπεριωθέντες δὲ ἐθηεῦντα διεξιόντες  
τοὺς νεκρούς· πάρτες δὲ ἡπιστέατο τοὺς κείμενους  
εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπιέας, ὁρῶ-  
τες καὶ τοὺς εἶλωτας. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐλάνθανε τοὺς  
διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς  
νεκροὺς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δη καὶ γελοῖον ἦν  
τῶν μὲν χιλίοις ἐφαντούτο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ  
πάντες ἐκέατο ἀλέες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τῶντὸ  
χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. ταῦτην μὲν τὴν  
ἡμέρην πρὸς θέην ἐτράποντο, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίη οἱ  
μὲν ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἱ δὲ  
ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐν ὁδῷ ὄρμέατο.

26. \*Ηκοι δέ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκα-  
δίης ὀλίγοι τιτέοι, βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ<sup>2</sup>  
βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἔγοντες δὲ τούτους ἐς ὅψιν  
τὴν βασιλέος ἐπιυθάροντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν

to the fleet, having first bestowed the fallen men as I shall show. Of all his own soldiers who had fallen at Thermopylae (that is, as many as twenty thousand) he left about a thousand, and the rest he buried in digged trenches, which he covered with leaves and heaped earth, that the men of the fleet might not see them. So when the herald had crossed over to Histiaeum, he assembled all the men of the fleet and thus spoke: "Men of our allies, King Xerxes suffers any one of you that will to leave his place and come to see how he fights against those foolish men who thought to overcome the king's power."

25. After this proclamation, there was nought so hard to get as a boat, so many were they who would see the sight. They crossed over and went about viewing the dead; and all of them supposed that the fallen Greeks were all Lacedaemonians and Thespians, though there were the helots also for them to see. Yet for all that they that crossed over were not deceived by what Xerxes had done with his own dead; for indeed the thing was laughable; of the Persians a thousand lay dead before their eyes, but the Greeks lay all together assembled in one place, to the number of four thousand. All that day they spent in seeing the sight; on the next the shipmen returned to their fleet at Histiaeum, and Xerxes' army set forth on its march.

26. There had come to them some few deserters, men of Areadia, lacking a livelihood and desirous to find some service. Bringing these men into the king's presence, the Persians inquired of them what

## HERODOTUS

Ἐλλήνων τί ποιέοιεν εἰς ἐέ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν  
οἱ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. οἱ δέ σφι ἔλεγον ὡς  
Ολύμπια ἀγουστὶ καὶ θεωρέοιεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν  
καὶ ἵππικόν. ὃ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὃ τι τὸ μεθλον εἴη  
σφι κείμενον περὶ ὅτεν ἀγωνίζονται οἱ δὲ εἰπον  
τῆς ἑλαῖης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα  
εἶπας γνώμην γεννιαστάτην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρτα-  
βάνον δειλίην ὥφλε πρὸς βασιλέας πυνθανό-  
μενος γάρ τὸ μεθλον ἔν στέφαρον ἀλλ' οὐ  
χρήματα, οὗτε ἡνέσχετο σιγῶν εἶπε τε ἐς πάντας  
τάδε. "Παπᾶ Μαρδόνιε, καίσους ἐπ'" ἄνδρας  
ἴργαγες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, οἱ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων  
τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῦνται ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς." τούτῳ  
μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἴρητο.

27. Ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρώμα, ἐπείτε τὸ ἐν  
Θερμοπύλῃσι τρῶμα ἐγεγόνεε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ  
πέμποντι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέαν, ἀτε σφι ἔχοντες  
αἱεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρωματος καὶ  
τὸ κάρτα, ἐσβαλόντες γάρ πανστριτῆ ἀυτοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐφ τοὺς  
Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἐτεί πρότερον ταύτης τῆς  
βασιλέος στρατηλασίης, ἐσσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν  
Φωκέων καὶ περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. ἐπείτε γάρ  
κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρηησὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες  
μάντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἡλεῖον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης  
οὗτος σφιζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιόνδε. γυψώσας ἄνδρας  
ἔξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, αὐτούς τε  
τούτους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν, τυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο  
τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι, προείπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἀν μὴ

<sup>1</sup> On this hypothesis, usually received till lately, that the games took place at the first full moon after the summer

the Greeks were doing, there being one who put this question in the name of all. The Areadians telling them that the Greeks were keeping the Olympic<sup>1</sup> festival and viewing sports and horse-races, the Persian asked what was the prize offered, wherefor they contended; and they told him of the crown of olive that was given to the victor. Then Tigranes son of Artabanus uttered a most noble saying (but the king deemed him a coward for it); when he heard that the prize was not money but a crown, he could not hold his peace, but cried, "Zounds, Mardonius, what manner of men are these that you have brought us to fight withal? 'tis not for money they contend but for glory of achievement!" Such was Tigranes' saying.

27. In the meantime, immediately after the misfortune at Thermopylae, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, inasmuch as they bore an old grudge against them, and more than ever by reason of their latest disaster. For a few years before the king's expedition the Thessalians and their allies had invaded Phocis with their whole army, but had been worsted and roughly handled by the Phocians. For the Phocians being beleaguered on Parnassus and having with them the diviner Tellias of Elis, Tellias devised a stratagem for them: he covered six hundred of the bravest Phocians with gypsum, themselves and their armour, and led them to attack the Thessalians by night, bidding them

<sup>1</sup>justice, we should have to adopt some theory such as Stein's, that the conversation here recorded took place in late June, while Xerxes was at Therma; for Thermopylae was fought in late August. But Macan says that the above hypothesis about the date of the games is exploded.

## HERODOTUS

λευκανθίζοντα ίδωνται, τούτον κτείνειν. τούτους  
ών αλλέ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ιδοῦσαι  
ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἀλλοὶ τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ  
μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτὴ ἡ στρατιὴ οὗτῳ ὥστε  
τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι ῥικρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων  
Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς Ἀθας ἀρέθεσαν  
τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφούς· ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν  
χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι  
ἀνδριώντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες  
ἔμπροσθε τοῦ ηηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἔτεροι  
τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἀθησι ἀπακέαται.

28. Ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῷ  
Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκέοντας ἑωντούς·  
ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐν τὴν χώρην τὴν ἵππουν αὐτῶν  
ἐλευμήγαντο ἀνηκέστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἦ  
ἐστὶ κατὰ Τάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγαληνὸν  
ὑροῦντες ἀμφορέας κενεοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν,  
χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορῆσαντες καὶ ὄμοιώσαντες τῷ ἀλλῳ  
χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας,  
οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι  
ἐπέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι  
τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν.

29. Τούτων δὴ σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἐγκοτον  
οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κῆρυκα ἡγόρευον τάδε.  
...Ω Φωκέες, ηδη τι μᾶλλον γνωστιμαχέετε μὴ  
εἰναι δροῖοι ἡμῖν. πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι,  
ὅστον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἥνδανε, πλέον αἱεὶ κοτε  
ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· γῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ το-  
σοῦτο δυνάμεθα ὥστε ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστε-  
ρῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἡνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς  
μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μητικακέομεν, ἀλλ'  
ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἀντ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα

slay whomsoever they should see not whitened. The Thessalian sentinels were the first to see these men and to flee for fear, supposing falsely that it was something beyond nature, and next after the sentinels the whole army fled likewise; insomuch that the Phocians made themselves masters of four thousand dead, and their shields, whereof they dedicated half at Abæ and the rest at Delphi; a tithe of what they won in that fight went to the making of the great statues that stand round the tripod before the shrine at Delphi, and there are others like them dedicated at Abæ.

28. Thus had the beleaguered Phocians dealt with the Thessalian foot; and when the Thessalian horsemen rode into their country the Phocians did them mortal harm: they dug a great pit in the pass near Hyampolis and put empty jars therein, covering which with earth, till all was like the rest of the ground, they awaited the onset of the Thessalians. These rode on thinking to sweep the Phocians before them, and fell in among the jars; whereby their horses' legs were broken.

29. These two deeds had never been forgiven by the Thessalians; and now they sent a herald with this message: "Men of Phocis, it is time now that you confess yourselves to be no match for us. We were ever formerly preferred before you by the Greeks, as long as we were on their side; and now we are of such weight with the foreigner that it lies in our power to have you deprived of your lands, and yourselves enslaved withal. Nevertheless, though all rests with us, we bear you no ill-will for the past; pay us fifty talents of silver for what you

## HERODOTUS

ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιώντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην ἀποτρέψειν."

30. Ταῦτα σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντα οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μούνοι τῶν ταύτη ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς ἦγε συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηδῖον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖεν, ἐμῆδιζον ἀν οἱ Φωκέες. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὗτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα, παρέχειν τε σφίσι Θεσσαλοῖσι ομοίως μηδίζειν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστεθαι ἐκύντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

31. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηγείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, αὐτῷ δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι ἔγεροντο ἥγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχιώνης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεὺν στεινὸς ταῦτη κατατίνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κη εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρης, ἣ περ ἦν τὰ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· οὐδὲ χώρη αὐτῇ ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, ταῦτην ὡν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐμῆδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἔδοκες Θεσσαλοῖσι.

32. Όν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἴρεοντι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παριησοῦ ἀνέβησαν. ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὅμιλον τοῦ Παριησοῦ ἡ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν καιμένη ἐπ' ἐμυτῆς Τιθορέα οἴνομα αὐτῇ ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηγείκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν. οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐτοὺς Ὀξόλας Λακροὺς ἔξεκομίσαντο, ἐς

did, and we promise to turn aside what threatens your land."

30. This was the Thessalians' offer. The Phocians, and they alone of all that region, would not take the Persians' part, and that for no other reason (if I argue aright) than their hatred of the Thessalians; had the Thessalians aided the Greek side, then methinks the Phocians would have stood for the Persians. They replied to the offer of the Thessalians that they would give no money; that they could do like the Thessalians and take the Persian part, if for any cause they so wished, but they would not willingly betray the cause of Hellas.

31. This answer being returned to them, thereat the Thessalians in their wrath against the Phocians began to guide the foreigner on his way. From the lands of Trachis they broke into Doris; for there is a narrow tongue of Dorian land stretching that way, about thirty furlongs wide, between the Malian territory and the Phocian, which in old time was Dryopian; this region is the motherland of the Dorians of the Peloponnese. To this Dorian territory the foreigners did no harm at their invasion; for the people took the Persian part, and the Thessalians would not have them harmed.

32. When they entered Phocis from Doris, the Phocians themselves they could not catch; for some of the Phocians ascended to the heights of Parnassus; and the peak of Parnassus called Tithorea, which rises by itself near the town Neon, has room enough for a multitude of people; thither they carried up their goods and themselves ascended to it, but the most of them made their way out of the country to

## HERODOTUS

"Αμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκημένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὗτῳ ἥγον τὸν στρατόν ὄκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐν τὰς πόλις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἵρα.

33. Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτῃ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν ἔδησουν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρυμὸν πόλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἑρωχὸν καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδιέας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Τάμπολιν καὶ Παραποταμίους καὶ Ἀβας, ἐνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλαστίου, θησαυροῖσι τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλάσιτι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦρ δὲ καὶ τοτε καὶ τὸν ἔτε χρηστήριον αὐτόθι, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρηπαν, καὶ τινας διώκουντες ἔλλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι δῆρεσι, καὶ γυναικας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθεος.

34. Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκοντο ἐν Πανοπέας. ἐιθεῦτεν δὲ ἦδη διακριωμένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἕμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξη πορευόμενοι ἐπ' Αθῆνας ἐσέβαλε εἰς Βοιωτούς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ορχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμῆδιξε, τὰς δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἐσωζον, ὑπὸ Λλεξάνδρου ἀπιπεμφθέντες ἐσωζον δὲ τῇδε, δῆλον βουλόμενοι ποιέειν Ξέρξη διτὶ τὰ Μῆδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέσσει.

35. Οὔτοι μὲν ὅη τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράπουντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἥγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὄρμέατο

BOOK VIII. 32-35

the Ozolian Locrians, where is the town of Amphissa above the Crisaean plain. The foreigners overran the whole of Phocis, the Thessalians so guiding their army; and all that came within their power they burnt and wasted, setting fire to towns and temples.

33. Marching this way down the river Cephissus they ravaged all before them, burning the towns of Drymns, Charadra, Eroelus, Tethronium, Amphiacaen, Neon, Peleia, Triton, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abae, where was a richly endowed temple of Apollo, provided with wealth of treasure and offerings; and there was then as now a place of divination there. This temple, too, they plundered and burnt; and they pursued and caught some of the Phocians near the mountains, and did certain women to death by the multitude of their violators.

34. Passing Parapotamii the foreigners came to Panopea; and there their army parted asunder into two companies. The greater and stronger part of the host marched with Xerxes himself towards Athens and broke into the territory of Orechomenus in Boeotia. Now the whole people of Boeotia took the Persian part, and men of Macedonia sent by Alexander safeguarded their towns, each in his appointed place; the reason of the safeguarding being, that Xerxes might understand the Boeotians to be on the Persian side.

35. So this part of the foreign army marched as aforesaid, and others set forth with guides for the

## HERODOTUS

ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν  
ἀπέργουντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς  
Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐπιναυμάρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανο-  
πέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ  
Λιστιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταῦτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες  
τῆς ἀλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἶνεκα, ὅκας συλήσαντες  
τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλέα Ξέρξην ἀποδέξαιεν  
τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἤπιστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ  
ὅσα λόγου ήρ ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἔγω πυνθάνομαι,  
ἀμειψον· ή τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν  
αἵει λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ  
Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

36. Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανομενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν  
ἀρρωδέην ἀπίκατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατε-  
στεῶτες ἐμαυτεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων,  
εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκαμίσωσι  
ἐς ἄλλην χώρην. οἱ δὲ θεός σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέει,  
φὰς αὐτὸς ἰκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἑωτοῦ προκατῆσθαι.  
Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι  
ἔφροντιζον. τέκνα μέν νυν καὶ γυναικας πέρην  
ἐν τὴν Ἀχαιῆν διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν  
πλεῖστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς  
καὶ ἐς τὸ Καρύκιον ἄντρον ἀντιείκαρτο, σὲ δὲ ἐς  
Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ  
ἄν τοι Δελφοὶ ἔξελεπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἔξηκοντα  
ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.

37. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ήσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες  
καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ προφήτης, τῷ  
οὐνομα ήν Ἀκήρατος, ὥρᾳ πρὸ τοῦ ηροῦ ὅπλα  
προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἔξειπνειγμένα  
ἱρά, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ήν ἀπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί.

temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right. These, too, laid waste whatsoever part of Phocis they occupied, burning the towns of the Panopeans and Daunii and Aeolidae. The purpose of their parting from the rest of the army and marching this way was, that they might plunder the temple at Delphi and lay its wealth before Xerxes; who (as I have been told) knew of all the most notable possessions in the temple better than of what he had left in his own palace, and chiefly the offerings of Croesus son of Alyattes: so many had ever spoken of them.

36. When the Delphians learnt all this they were sore afraid; and in their great fear they inquired of the oracle whether they should bury the sacred treasure in the ground or convey it away to another country. But the god bade them move nothing, saying that he was able to protect his own. On that hearing, the Delphians took thought for themselves. They sent their children and women oversea to Achaea; of the men, the most went up to the peaks of Parnassus and carried their goods into the Corycian cave,<sup>1</sup> and some escaped to Amphisssa in Locris; In brief, all the Delphians left the town save sixty men and the prophet.

37. Now when the foreigners drew nigh in their coming and could see the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw certain sacred arms, that no man might touch without sacrilege, brought out of the chamber within and laid before the shrine. So

<sup>1</sup> In the heights above Delphi and some three hours distant from it, adjacent to Parnassus. The cave is "some 200 feet long, 90 feet broad at the widest point, and 20 to 40 feet high" (How and Wells).

## HERODOTUS

ο μὲν δὴ ἦρε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεοῦσι σημανέων τὸ τέραν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἔγίνοντο ἐπιγύρμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὸν γενομένου τέρεος. Θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστί, ὅπλα ἀρίστα αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νησοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἀξια θωμάσαι μᾶλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἥσαν ἐπιώντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παριησοῦ ἀπαρραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφὴν ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐει αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο.

38. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε, μαθόγετες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθος τι αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ίθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἐφευγον. ἐλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες αὐτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυιθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοισι καὶ ἄλλα ὄρων θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὑπλίτας μέζονας ἦ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας ἐπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκαντας.

39. Τούτους δὲ τὸν δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Λύτόνοσ, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατίπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης, Λύτονόσ δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίης ὑπὸ τῆς Ταμπείης κορυφῆς, οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παριησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἥμέας ἥσαν σάσι,

he went to tell the Delphians of this miracle; but when the foreigners came with all speed near to the temple of Athene Pronaea, they were visited by miracles yet greater than the aforesaid. Marvellous indeed it is, that weapons of war should of their own motion appear lying outside before the shrine; but the visitation which followed upon that was more wondrous than aught else ever seen. For when the foreigners were near in their coming to the temple of Athene Pronaea, there were they smitten by thunderbolts from heaven, and two peaks brake off from Parnassus and came rushing among them with a mighty noise and overwhelmed many of them; and from the temple of Athene there was heard a shout and a cry of triumph.

38. All this joining together struck panic into the foreigners; and the Delphians, perceiving that they fled, descended upon them and slew a great number. The survivors fled straight to Boeotia. Those of the foreigners who returned said (as I have been told) that they had seen other signs of heaven's working besides the aforesaid: two men-at-arms of stature greater than human (they said) had followed hard after them, slaying and pursuing.

39. These two, say the Delphians, were the native heroes Phylaeus and Autonous, whose precincts are near the temple, Phylaeus' by the road itself above the shrine of Athene Pronaea, and Autonous' near the Castalian spring, under the Hyamporean peak. The rocks that fell<sup>1</sup> from Parnassus were yet to be

<sup>1</sup> "Among the olives in the glen below" the remains of the temple of Athene Pronaea "are some large masses of reddish-grey rock, which might be those said to have come hurtling from the cliffs above" (How and Wells).

## HERODOTUS

ἐν τῷ τεμένεῖ τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναῖς κείμενοι,  
ἔς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν Βαρβάρων φερόμενοι.  
τούτων μὲν τινες τῷ μένδρῳ αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴρου  
ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

40. Οὐδὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμίνα  
κατίσχει τὰς νέας, τῶνδε δὲ εἰνεκα προσεδείθησαν  
αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
παῖδας τε καὶ γυναικας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς  
Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον  
αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγ-  
μασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι  
γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εύρισεν Πελοποννησίους  
πανδημεῖ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν Βάρ-  
Βαρον, τῶν μὲν εὑρον αὐδὲν ἔσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπυιθύμοντο  
τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, ὡς τὴν Πελο-  
πόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι  
καὶ ταῦτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπι-  
έναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδείθησαν  
σφέων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα.

41. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα.  
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπιξιν  
κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται  
σωζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ  
μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροίζηνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς  
Λίγιαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. ἔσπενσαν δὲ ταῦτα  
ὑπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπῆρε-  
τειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἰνεκα οὐκ ἥκιστα. λέγοντοι  
Ἀθηναῖοι δόφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῇς ἀκροπόλιος  
ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἴρῳ. λέγοντοι τε ταῦτα καὶ  
δὴ ὡς ἔνοτι ἐπιμήμα ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες-  
τὰ δέ ἐπιμήμα μελιτόεσσα ἔστι. αὐτῇ δὴ ἦ

seen in my day, lying in the precinct of Athene Pronaea, whether their descent through the foreigners' ranks had hurled them. Such, then, was the manner of those men's departure from the temple.

40. The Greek fleet, after it had left Artemisium came by the Athenians' entreaty to land at Salamis ; the reason why the Athenians entreated them to put in there being, that they themselves might convey their children and women safe out of Attica, and moreover take counsel as to what they should do. For inasmuch as the present turn of affairs had disappointed their judgment they were now to hold a council ; they had thought to find the whole Peloponnesian force awaiting the foreigners' attack in Boeotia, but now of that they found no whit, but learnt contrariwise that the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus, and letting all else go, as deeming the defence of the Peloponnese to be of greatest moment. Learning this, they therefore entreated the fleet to put in at Salamis.

41. So the rest made sail thither, and the Athenians to their own country. Being there arrived they made a proclamation that every Athenian should save his children and servants as he best could. Thereat most of them sent their households to Troezen, and some to Aegina and Salamis. They made haste to convey all out of harm because they desired to be guided by the oracle, and for another reason, too, which was this : it is said by the Athenians that a great snake lives in their temple, to guard the acropolis ; in proof whereof they do ever duly set out a honey-cake as a monthly offering for it ; this

## HERODOTUS

μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος. σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἵρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἔξελιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυίης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἐπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

42. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυρθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροιζηνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῷ πλεῦνες νέες ἡ ἐπὸν Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μέν τυν ἐπῆν ὥντὸς ὃς περ ἐπὸν Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κύρυνθιάδης ὁ Εύρυκλείδεω ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεος τοῦ βασιληίου ἐών τέλεας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.

43. Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἵστε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκκαλδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ ἐπὸν Ἀρτεμισίῳ. Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντεκαΐδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Ἐρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, ἔντες οὖται πλὴν Ἐρμιονέων Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὑστατα ὅρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἐρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλιέων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρης ἔξαραστάντες.

44. Οὗτοι μέν τυν Πελοποννησίων ἐστρατεύοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἡπείρου, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὅγδωκούτα καὶ ἑκατόν, μοῦνοι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ

## BOOK VIII. 41-44

cake had ever before been consumed, but was now left untouched. When the priestess made that known, the Athenians were the readier to leave their city, deeming their goddess, too, to have deserted the acropolis. When they had conveyed all away, they returned to the fleet.

42. When the Greeks from Artemisium had put in at Salamis, the rest of their fleet also heard of it and gathered in from Troezen, the port of which, Pogon, had been named for their place of mustering; and the ships that mustered there were more by far than had fought at Artemisium, and came from more cities. Their admiral-in-chief was the same as at Artemisium, Eurybiades son of Euryelides, a Spartan, yet not of the royal blood; but it was the Athenians who furnished by far the most and the sea-worthiest ships.

43. The Peloponnesians that were with the fleet were, firstly, the Lacedaemonians, with sixteen ships, and the Corinthians with the same number of ships as at Artemisium; the Sicyonians furnished fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Troezenians five, the people of Hermione three; all these, except the people of Hermione, were of Dorian and Macedonian stock, and had first come from Erineus and Pindus and the Dryopian region. The people of Hermione are Dryopians, driven by Heracles and the Malians from the country now called Doris.

44. These were the Peloponnesians in the fleet. Of those that came from the mainland outside the Peloponnesus, the Athenians furnished more ships than any of the rest, namely, a hundred and eighty, of their own sending; for the Plataeans did not

## HERODOTUS

σινεναυμάχησαν Πλαταιέες Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τοι-  
ύδε τι πρῆγμα· ἀπαλλασσομέρων τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὡς ἐγίροντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα,  
οἱ Πλαταιέες ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαίην τῆς  
Βοιωτίης χώρης πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν  
οἰκετέων. οὗτοι μέν νυν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλεί-  
φθησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων  
τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομέρην ἦσαν Πελασγοί,  
ὄνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος  
ἐκλίθησαν Κέκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἔρεχθέος  
τὴν ἄρχην Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἰωνος δὲ  
τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι  
ἐκλίθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἰωνες.

45. Μεγαρέες δὲ τώντὸ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο  
καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Ἀμπρακιῶται δὲ ἐπτὰ νέας  
ἔχοντες ἐπεβοήθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος  
ἔοντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

46. Νησιωτέων δὲ Λίγινήται τριήκοντα παρεί-  
χοντο. ἦσαν μέν σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμέναι  
νέες, ἄλλὰ τῆσι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον,  
τριήκοντα δὲ τῆσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι  
ἐναυμάχησαν. Λίγινήται δὲ εἰσὶ Δωριέες ἀπὸ  
Ἐπιδαύρου· τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρότερον οὔνομα ἦν  
Οίνωνη· μετὰ δὲ Λίγινήτας Χαλκίδεες τὰς ἐπ'  
Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρετριέες τὰς  
ἐπτά· οὗτοι δὲ Ἰωνες εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ Κήιοι τὰς  
αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐὸν Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ  
Ἀθηνέων. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας, ἀπο-  
πεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιη-

fight beside the Athenians at Salamis, whereof the reason was that when the Greeks sailed from Artemisium, and had arrived off Chaleis, the Plataeans landed on the opposite Boeotian shore and set about conveying their households away. So they were left behind bringing these to safety. The Athenians, while the Pelasgians ruled what is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, bearing the name of Cranai<sup>1</sup>; in the time of their king Cecrops they came to be called Cecropidae, and when the kingship fell to Erechtheus they changed their name and became Athenians, but when Ion son of Xuthus was made leader of their armies they were called after him Ionians.

45. The Megarians furnished the same complement as at Artemisium; the Ampraciots brought seven ships to the fleet, and the Leucadians (who are of Dorian stock from Corinth) brought three.

46. Of the islanders, the Aeginetans furnished thirty. They had other ships, too, manned; but they used them to guard their own coasts, and fought at Salamis with the thirty that were most seaworthy. The Aeginetans are Dorians from Epidaurus; their island was formerly called Oenone. After the Aeginetans came the Chalcidians with the twenty, and the Eretrians with the seven which had fought at Artemisium; they are Ionians; and next the Cœans, furnishing the same ships as before; they are of Ionian stock, from Athens. The Naxians furnished four ships; they had been sent by their townsmen to the Persians, like the rest of the

<sup>1</sup> That is, probably, "dwellers on the heights." All pre-Dorian inhabitants of Hellas are "Pelasgian" to Herodotus.

## HERODOTUS

τέων κατά περ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες  
δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκί-  
μου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Ίωνες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρέες δὲ τὰς  
αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέας τὰς περ ἡπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ.  
Κύθνιοι δὲ μιαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον, ἔοντες συναμ-  
φότεροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες. καὶ Σερίφιοι τε καὶ  
Σίφνιοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ  
ἔδοσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ  
ὑδωρ.

47. Οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσ-  
πρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο.  
Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ ὁμουρέοντες Ἀμυρακιώτησι  
καὶ Λευκαδίοισι, οἵ ἔξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρα-  
τεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἕκτος τούτων οἰκημένων Κρο-  
τωνῆται μοῦνοι ἥσαν οἵ ἐβοϊθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι  
κινδυνευούσῃ μηδὲν ηγί. τῆς ἥρχε ἀνὴρ τοὺς πυ-  
θιονίκης Φάυλλος. Κροτωνῆται δὲ γέρος εἰσὶ<sup>2</sup>  
Ἀχαιοί.

48. Οἱ μέρινοι ἄλλοι τριήρεας παρεχόμενοι  
ἐστρατεύοντο. Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Σερίφιοι  
πεντηκοντέρους. Μήλιοι μὲν γέρος ἔοντες ἀπὸ  
Λακεδαιμονος δύο παρείχοντο. Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ  
Σερίφιοι Ίωνες ἔοντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων μιαν ἑκάτεροι.  
ἄριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν  
πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσιαι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ  
όκτω.

49. Ός δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συγῆλθον οἱ στρα-  
τηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημερέων πολιών, ἐβούλεύοντο,  
προθέντος Εύρυβιάδεω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν  
βουλόμενον, οκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεύτατον εἶναι ταῦ-

islanders; but they paid no heed to the command and joined themselves to the Greeks, being invited thereto by Democritus, a man of note in their town, who was then captain of a trireme. The Naxians are Ionians, of Athenian lineage. The Styrians furnished the same number as at Artemisium, and the Cythnians one trireme and a fifty-oared bark; both these peoples are Dryopians. There were also in the fleet men of Seriphos and Siphnos and Melos, these being the only islanders who had not given the foreigner earth and water.

47. All these aforesaid came to the war from countries nearer than Thesprotia and the river Acheron; for Thesprotia marches with the Ambraciots and Leucadians, who came from the lands farthest distant. Of those that dwell farther off than these, the men of Croton alone came to aid Hellas in its peril, and they with one ship, whereof the captain was Phayllus, a victor in the Pythian games. These Crotoniats are of Achaean blood.

48. All these furnished triremes for the fleet save the Melians and Siphnians and Seriphians, who brought fifty-oared barks, the Melians (who are of Lacedaemonian stock) two, and the Siphnians and Seriphians (who are Ionians of Athenian lineage) one each. The whole number of the ships, besides the fifty-oared barks, was three hundred and seventy eight.

49. When the leaders from the cities aforesigned met at Salamis, they held a council; Eurybiades laid the matter before them, bidding whosoever would to declare what waters in his judgment were fittest for a sea-fight, among all places whereof the Greeks

## HERODOTUS

μαχήν ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοὶ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσὶ· οὐ γάρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπέστο ἥδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γυναικαὶ δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλεῖσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλωσαῖται ταυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς εἰ τικηθέωσι τῇ ταυμαχίᾳ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἴώντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν τῷσι φι, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίῃ οὐδεμίᾳ ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἔξοισονται.

50. Ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατιγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἡκειν τον βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. οὐ γάρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τριπόμενος στρατὸς ἄμα Ξέρξη, ἐμπρήστας Θεσπιάνων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὁσαύτως, ἥκε τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖπι ἐδηίουν. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπιεάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήδιζον.

51. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἰλλησπόρτου, ἐνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἡρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατριψαντες μῆρα ἐν τῷ διέθαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροισι μησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἱρέουσι ἑρῆμαν τὸ ἀστυν, καὶ τινας ὀλύγους εὑρίσκουσι τῷρις Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἴρῳ ἔοντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἴρου καὶ πέρητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμέροντα τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἄμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενεῖτες βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὺς δοκέοντες ἔξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ὑπερίη σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον

were masters; of Attica they had no more hope; it was among other places that he bade them judge. Then the opinion of most of the speakers tended to the same conclusion, that they should sail to the Isthmus and do battle by sea for the safety of the Peloponnesians, the reason which they alleged being this, that if they were defeated in the fight at Salamis they would be beleaguered in an island, where no help could come to them; but off the Isthmus they could win to their own coasts.

50. While the Peloponnesian captains held this argument, there came a man of Athens, bringing news that the foreigner was arrived in Attica, and was wasting it all with fire. For the army which followed Xerxes through Boeotia had burnt the town of the Thespians (who had themselves left it and gone to the Peloponnesians) and Plataea likewise, and was arrived at Athens, laying waste all the country round. They burnt Thespia and Plataea because they learnt from the Thebans that those towns had not taken the Persian part.

51. Now after the crossing of the Hellespont whence they began their march, the foreigners had spent one month in their passage into Europe, and in three more months they arrived in Attica, Calliades being then archon at Athens. There they took the city, then left desolate; but they found in the temple some few Athenians, temple-stewards and needy men, who defended themselves against the assault by fencing the acropolis with doors and logs; these had not withdrawn to Salamis, partly by reason of poverty, and also because they supposed themselves to have found out the meaning of the Delphic oracle that the wooden wall should be

## HERODOTUS

ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον  
κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

52. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἵζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον  
τῆς ἀκροπόλιος δχθοι, τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καλέουσι  
Ἀρίμον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως  
στυπτεῖον περὶ τοὺς διστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν,  
ἔτοξειον ἔει τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναῖον οἱ  
πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἡμίνοντο, καίπερ ἔει τὸ  
ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος  
προδεδωκότος οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων  
προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδίκοντο, ἀμυνό-  
μενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ὑπεμηχανῶντο καὶ δὴ καὶ  
προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὄλοι-  
τρόχους ἀπίσταν, ὥστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχρὸν  
ἀπορίσι ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας ἐλεῖν.

53. Χρόνῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπύρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις  
ἔξοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεο-  
πρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἱπείρῳ  
γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσησι. ἐμπροσθε ὡν πρὸ τῆς  
ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῷ πυλέων καὶ τῆς  
ἀρόδου, τῇ δὴ οὗτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὗτ' ἀν ἡλπισε  
μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀγαθαίη ἀνθρώπων,  
ταῦτη ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ίρδν τῆς Κέκροπος  
θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου  
ἔοντος τοῦ χώρου. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀγαθε-  
βηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν  
ἐρρίπτεον ἐωστοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ  
διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἔει τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον.  
τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀγαθεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν

## BOOK VIII. 51-53

impregnable, and believed that this, and not the ships, was the refuge signified by the prophecy.<sup>1</sup>

52. The Persians sat down on the hill over against the acropolis, which is called by the Athenians the Hill of Ares, and besieged them by shooting arrows wrapped in lighted tow at the barricade. There the Athenians defended themselves against their besiegers, albeit they were in extremity and their barricade had failed them; nor would they listen to the terms of surrender proposed to them by the Pisistratids, but defended themselves by counter-devices, chiefly by rolling great stones down on the foreigners when they assaulted the gates; insomuch that for a long while Xerxes could not take the place, and knew not what to do.

53. But at the last in their quandary the foreigners found an entrance; for the oracle must needs be fulfilled, and all the mainland of Attica be made subject to the Persians. In front of the acropolis, and behind the gates and the ascent thereto, there was a place where none was on guard and none would have thought that any man would ascend that way; here certain men mounted near the shrine of Cecrops' daughter Aglauros, though the way led up a sheer cliff.<sup>2</sup> When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the acropolis, some of them cast themselves down from the wall and so perished, and others fled into the inner chamber. Those Persians who had come up first betook themselves

<sup>1</sup> Hiltz's description (say How and Wells) is accurate and obvious. The ascent was probably made by a steep cleft running under or within the N. wall of the Acropolis; the western entrance of this cleft is 'in front,' facing the same way as the main entrance of the Acropolis.  $\mu/\gamma\alpha\rho\pi\delta$  here =  $\lambda\beta\omega\mu$ .

## HERODOTUS

έτραποντα πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταῦτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ίκέτας ἐφόρενον ἔπει δέ σφι πάρτες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ιρόν συλλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

54. Σχὼν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἵππεα Ἀρταβάτῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι εὔπρηξίν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κίρυκος δευτέρη γέμερη συγκαλέσας Αθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἐμοτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ οἴρα πναθάντας ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ὡν δψιν τινὰ ἴδων ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιον οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρῆσαντι τὸ ιρόν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

55. Τοῦ δὲ εἶνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. οἵτι εἴρ τῷ ἀκροπόλι ταῦτη Ἐρεχθίος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἴναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ βάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηνῶν Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταῦτην ὡν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ οἴρῳ κατέλαβε ἐμπρῆσθηναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβίρων δευτέρη δὲ γέμερη ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρῆσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέως κελευσόμενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ιρόν, ὥρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος δσον τε πυχνῶν ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μέν τυν ταῦτα ἐφράσαν.

56. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἐλληνες, ὡς σφι ἐξηγήσθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσούτον θύρυθον ἀπίκουτο ὡς ἔνεισι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἐμενον τὸ προκέιμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία λείροντο ὡς ἀποθευσόμενοι· τοῖσι τε ὑπολειπα-

to the gates, which they opened, and slew the suppliants; and when they had laid all the Athenians low, they plundered the temple and burnt the whole of the acropolis.

54. Being now wholly master of Athens, Xerxes sent a horseman to Susa to announce his present success to Artabanus. On the next day after the messenger was sent he called together the Athenian exiles who followed in his train, and bade them go up to the acropolis and offer sacrifice after their manner, whether it was some vision seen of him in sleep that led him to give this charge, or that he repented of his burning of the temple. The Athenian exiles did as they were bidden.

55. I will now show wherefore I make mention of this: on that acropolis there is a shrine of Erechtheus the Earthborn (as he is called), wherein is an olive tree, and a salt-pool, which (as the Athenians say) were set there by Poseidon and Athene as tokens of their contention for the land.<sup>1</sup> Now it was so, that the olive tree was burnt with the temple by the foreigners; but on the day after its burning, when the Athenians bidden by the king to sacrifice went up to the temple, they saw a shoot of about a cubit's length sprung from the trunk; which thing they reported.

56. When it was told to the Greeks at Salamis what had befallen the Athenian acropolis, they were so panic-struck that some of their captains would not wait till the matter whereon they debated should be resolved, but threw themselves aboard their ships and hoisted their sails for flight. Those that were

<sup>1</sup> Athene created the olive, Poseidon the salt pool: Cecrops adjudged the land to Athene.

## HERODOTUS

μένοιστι αὐτῶν ἔκυροθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχέειν. τούξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ οἱ διαλυθέατες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐν τὰς νέας.

57. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἰρετο Μιησιφίλος ἀνήρ Ἀθηναῖος δὲ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον. πιθύμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε "Οὗτ' ἄρα, ἦν ἀπαιέρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος, περὶ οὐδεμῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις κατὰ γάρ πόλις ἔκαστοι τρέφονται, καὶ οὕτε σφίας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὕτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆται τὴν στρατιήν ἀπολέεται τε η Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίηστι. ἄλλ' εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ιθὶ καὶ πειρῷ διαχέει τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνη ἀπαγνῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μένειν."

58. Κάρτα τε τῷ Θεμιστοκλέι ἤρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἦνε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἔθέλειν οἱ κοινὸν τι πρῆγμα συμπίξαι· δὲ δὲ τοῦν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευες ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἴ τι θέλει. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἥκουσε Μιησιφίλου, ἔμποι ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς, ἐς δὲ ἀνέγυνασε χρηζέων ἐκ τῆς νέος ἐκβῆται συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὰ συνέδριον.

59. Όη δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρίν ἡ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἴτεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι ολα κάρτα δεόμενος.

left behind resolved that the fleet should fight to guard the Isthmus; and at nightfall they broke up from the assembly and embarked.

57. Themistocles then being returned to his ship, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, asked him what was the issue of their counsels. Learning from him that their plan was to sail to the Isthmus and fight in defence of the Peloponnese, "Then," said Mnesiphilus, "if they put out to sea from Salamis, your ships will have no country left whereto to fight; for everyone will betake himself to his own city, and neither Eurybiades, nor any other man, will be able to hold them, but the armament will be scattered abroad; and Hellas will perish by unwiseom. Nay, if there be any means thereto, go now and strive to undo this plan, if haply you may be able to persuade Eurybiades to change his purpose and so abide here."

58. This advice pleased Themistocles well; making no answer to Mnesiphilus, he went to Eurybiades' ship, and said that he would confer with him on a matter of their common interest. Eurybiades bidding him come aboard and say what he would, Themistocles sat by him and told him all that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, as it were of his own devising, and added much thereto, till he prevailed with the Spartan by entreaty to come out of his ship and assemble the admirals in their place of meeting.

59. They being assembled (so it is said), before Eurybiades had laid before them the matter whereto the generals were brought together, Themistocles spoke long and vehemently in the earnestness of his entreaty; and while he yet spoke, Adimantus son

## HERODOTUS

λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὀκύτου εἶπε "Ο Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ἡττίζονται." ὃ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη "Οἱ δὲ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανῶνται."

60. Τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὑρυθιάδην ἔλεγε ἑκένων μὲν ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὡς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμοι οὐδένα κατηγορέειν· ὃ δὲ ἄλλου λόγουν εἶχετο, λέγων τάδε. "Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἔστι σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἦν ἐμοὶ πείθη ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λόγοισι ἀναζεύξῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθετο γάρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχῆσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἥμιν σύμφορον ἔστι νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνα τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν, ἢν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἔμα δὲ τῷ γαυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔφεται καὶ ο πεζὸς στρατός, καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἢν δὲ τὰ ἐγώ λέγω παιήσῃς, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εύρησεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στειρῷ συμβάλλοντες ῥησὶ διλίγγοντες πρὸς πολλάς, ἢν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στειρῷ ναυμαχέειν πρὸς ἥμέων ἔστι, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἑκείνων. αὗτις δὲ Σαλαμῖς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἥμιν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναικεῖς. καὶ μὲν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα·

of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, said, "At the games, Themistocles, they that come forward before their time are beaten with rods." "Ay," said Themistocles, justifying himself, "but they that wait too long win no crown."

60. Thus for the nonce he made the Corinthian a soft answer; then turning to Eurybindes, he said now mought of what he had said before, how that if they set sail from Salamis they would scatter and flee; for it would have ill become him to bring railing accusations against the allies in their presence; he trusted to another plea instead. "It lies in your hand," said he, "to save Hellas, if you will be guided by me and fight here at sea, and not be won by the words of these others to remove your ships over to the Isthmus. Hear me now, and judge between two plans. If you engage off the Isthmus you will fight in open waters, where it is least for our advantage, our ships being the heavier and the fewer in number; and moreover you will lose Salamis and Megara and Aegina, even if victory attend us otherwise; and their land army will follow with their fleet, and so you will lead them to the Peloponnese, and imperil all Hellas. But if you do as I counsel you, you will thereby profit as I shall show: firstly, by engaging their many ships with our few in narrow seas, we shall win a great victory, if the war have its rightful issue; for it is for our advantage to fight in a strait as it is theirs to have wide sea-room. Secondly, we save Salamis, whither we have conveyed away our children and our women. Moreover, there is this, too, in my plan, and it is your chiefest desire: you will be defending the

## HERODOTUS

όμοιως αὐτοῦ τε μένων πρωταυραχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἰ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἀξεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. Τῇ δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἔγκληπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῆσιν ηγεμονίαν, οὗτε ώμιν ἐφετὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ Βάρβαροι οὕτε προβίσσονται ἐκαπτέρῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίστῃ τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισι τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Λιγύνη καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἔστι τῶν ἔχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μέν των βαυλευμένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεός προσχωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπηίας γυνώμας."

61. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτὶς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύον τῷ μὴ ἔστι πατρὶς καὶ Εύρυθιάδην οὐκ ἔνι ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλιτον ἀνδρόν πόλιν γάρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὗτῳ ἐκέλευτε γυνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε διτε ήλωκεσάν τε καὶ κατελχούτα αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης κείνον τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἐισυτοῖσι τε ἐδῆλου λόγῳ ὃτε εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέχων ἦ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἀν διηκόσιαι τέσσες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι· οὐδαμοὺς γάρ Ἐλλήνων πάταις ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι.

62. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εύρυθιάδην, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα. "Σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσεσαι ἀνήρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μή, ὀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἐλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γάρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ τέσσες. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσῃς, ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς

Peloponnesian as well by abiding here as you would by fighting off the Isthmus, and you will not lead our enemies (if you be wise) to the Isthmus. And if that happen which I expect, you will never have the foreigners upon you at the Isthmus; they will advance no further than Attica, but depart in disorderly fashion; and we shall gain by the saving of Megara and Aegina and Salamis, where it is told us by an oracle that we shall have the upper hand of our enemies. Success comes oftenest to men when they make reasonable designs; but if they do not so, neither will heaven for its part side with human devices."

61. Thus said Themistocles; but Adimantus the Corinthian attacked him again, saying that a landless man should hold his peace, and that Eurybiades must not suffer one that had no city to vote; let Themistocles (said he) have a city at his back ere he took part in council,—taunting him thus because Athens was taken and held by the enemy. Thereupon Themistocles spoke long and bitterly against Adimantus and the Corinthians, giving them plainly to understand that the Athenians had a city and country greater than theirs, as long as they had two hundred ships fully manned; for there were no Greeks that could beat them off.

62. Thus declaring, he passed over to Eurybiades, and spoke more vehemently than before. "If you abide here, by so abiding you will be a right good man; but if you will not, you will overthrow Hellas; for all our strength for war is in our ships. Nay, be guided by me. But if you do not so, we then

## HERODOTUS

έχομεν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομιεύμεθα ἐς  
Σίριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, οὐ περ ἡμετέρη τε ἐστὶ ἐκ  
παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπὲρ ἡμέων αὐτὴν  
δέειν κτισθῆναις ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε  
μουνοθέντες μεμνήσεοθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.”

63. Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδι-  
δάσκετο Εὐρυθιάδης· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας  
μᾶλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μή σφεας  
ἀπολίπωσι, ἢ πρὸς τὸν Ἱσθμὸν ἀγάγγη τὰς νέας·  
ἀπολιπόντων γάρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο  
ἀξιώμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταῦτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν  
γράμμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχέειν.

64. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἐπεσι ἀκρο-  
βολισάμενοι, ἐπείτε Εὐρυθιάδης ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ  
παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταυμαχῆσοντες. ἡμέρη τε  
ἐγίνετο καὶ ἄμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀπόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο  
ἐν τε τῷ γῇ καὶ τῷ θαλάσσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ σφι  
εὑξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι καὶ ἐπεκαλέσασθαι τοὺς  
Αἰακίδας συμμάχους. ὡς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ  
ἐποίειν ταῦτα εὐξάμενοι γάρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι,  
αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Λίαντά τε καὶ Τελα-  
μῶνα ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Λίακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Λίγυραν.

65. Ἔφη δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος  
φυγής τε καὶ παρὴ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος  
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπείτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ  
χώρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐοῦσα  
ερημος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἄμα Δημαρήτῳ  
τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, οἰεῖν δὲ

<sup>1</sup> The images of Aeacus and his sons; cf. v. 80.

<sup>2</sup> N.W. of Athens, from which Eleusis is about 15 miles distant. Plutarch says that the vision was seen on the day

## BOOK VIII. 62-65

without more ado will take our households and voyage to Siris in Italy, which has been ours from old time, and the oracles tell that we must there plant a colony; and you, left without allies such as we are, will have cause to remember what I have said."

63. These words of Themistocles moved Eurybiades to change his purpose; which to my thinking he did chiefly because he feared lest the Athenians should leave him if he took his ships to the Isthmus; for if the Athenians should leave the fleet the rest would be no match for the enemy. He chose then the plan aforesaid, namely, to abide and fight on the seas where they were.

64. Thus after this wordy skirmish the Greeks at Salamis prepared, since Eurybiades so willed, to fight their battle where they were. At sunrise on the next day there was an earthquake on land and sea; and they resolved to pray to the gods, and to call the sons of Aeacus to be their helpers. As they resolved, so they did; they prayed to all the gods, and called Aias and Telamon to come to them from Salamis, where the Greeks were; and they sent a ship to Aegina for Aeacus and the rest that were of his House.<sup>1</sup>

65. There was one Dicaens, son of Theocydes, an exile from Athens who had attained to estimation among the Medes. This was the tale that he told: At the time when the land of Attica was being laid waste by Xerxes' army, and no Athenians were therein, he, being with Demaratus the Lacedaemonian on the Thriasian<sup>2</sup> plain, saw dust coming of the battle of Salamis, which would thus have been fought on September 22 (20th of Boedromion); for it is assumed that the vision coincided in date with the standing date of the Eleusinian festival.

## HERODOTUS

κοινορτὸν χωρέσιτα ἀπ' Ἐλευσίνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν  
μάλιστά κη τρισμυρίου, ἀποθωράξειν τε σφέας  
τὸν καινορτὸν ὅτεων κοτὲ εἶη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ  
πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν  
φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἱακχὸν. εἴναι δ'  
ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἵρων τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γινομένων  
τὸν Δημάρητον, εἰρέσθαι τε αὐτὸν ὃ τι τὸ φθεγ-  
γόμενον εἶη τοῦτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν "Δημάρητε,  
οὐκ ἔστι δκῶς οὐ μέρα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος  
στρατιῇ τάδε γάρ ἀρίσηλα, ἐρήμους ἑώσης τῆς  
Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγύμενον, ἀπ' Ἐλευσίνος  
ἴὸν ἔτι τιμωρίῃ 'Αθηναῖοις τε καὶ τοῖσι συμ-  
μάχοισι. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν  
Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλέι καὶ  
τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπέρῳ ἔσται, ἥν δὲ ἐπὶ  
τὰς νίας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν  
στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν  
δὲ ὄρτὴν ταύτην ἀγονσι 'Αθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα  
ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῷν τε ἁ  
βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μνεῖται  
καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐρ ταύτῃ τῇ ὄρτῃ  
ἱακχάζονται." πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον  
"Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον  
εἰπεῖς ἥν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀγεναχθῆ τὰ ἔπεια  
ταῦτα, ἀποβαλεῖες τὴν κεφαλήν, καὶ σε οὔτε ἐγώ  
δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι οὖτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ  
εἰς. ἄλλ' ἔχ' ἡσυχον, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε  
θεοῖσι μελῆσει." τον μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν,  
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καινορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι  
νέφος καὶ μεταρσιωθὲρ φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος  
ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὴ  
αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπο-  
βο

from Eleusis as it were raised by the feet of about thirty thousand men ; and as they marvelled greatly what men they should be whence the dust came, immediately they heard a cry, which cry seemed to him to be the Iacchus-song of the mysteries. Demaratus, not being conversant with the rites of Eleusis, asked him what this voice might be ; and Dicaeus said, "Without doubt, Demaratus, some great harm will befall the king's host ; for Attica being unpeopled, it is plain hereby that the voice we hear is of heaven's sending, and comes from Eleusis to the aid of the Athenians and their allies. And if the vision descend upon the Peloponnesian, the king himself and his army on land will be endangered ; but if it turn towards the ships at Salamis, the king will be in peril of losing his fleet. As for this feast, it is kept by the Athenians every year for the honour of the Mother and the Maid,<sup>1</sup> and whatever Greek will, be he Athenian or other, is then initiated ; and the cry which you hear is the 'Iacchus' which is uttered at this feast." Demaratus replied thereto, "Keep silence, and speak to none other thus ; for if these words of yours be reported to the king, you will lose your head, and neither I nor any other man will avail to save you. Hold your peace ; and for this host, the gods shall look to it." Such was Demaratus' counsel ; and after the dust and the cry came a cloud, which rose aloft and floated away towards Salamis, to the Greek fleet. By this they understood, that Xerxes' ships must perish.—This was

<sup>1</sup> Demeter and Persephone.

## HERODOTUS

λέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

66. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίνος θεησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπλεον δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρης τρισὶ ἡμέρησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλίρῳ. ὃς μὲν ἔμοι δοκεῖν, οὐκ ἀλάσσονες ἔοντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, κατὰ τε ὥπειρον καὶ τῆσι μηνὶ ἀπικόμενοι, ή ἐπὶ τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας· ἀντιθῆσθαι γάρ τοισί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι καὶ τῆσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχήσει τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὐκω ἐπομένους βασιλέας, Μηδιέας καὶ Δωριέας καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἐπομένους πλὴν Θεσπιέων καὶ Πλαταιών, καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀιδρίους καὶ Τηρίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς μητιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθησεν πρότερον τὰ οὐγόματα. δισφε γάρ δὴ προέβαψε ἐσωτέρω τὴν Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσούτῳ πλέω ἔθνει οἱ εἶπετο.

67. Ἐπει ὡς ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες οὗτοι πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κέρυνῳ ἐκαραδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κὴ ἀποβήσεται), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλων σφι συμμίξαι τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γυνάματας. ἐπει δὲ ἀπικόμενος προίζετο, παρῆσαν μετάπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ιθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξίαρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ ζαυτοὶ  
62

the tale told by Dicaeus, son of Theocydus; and Demaratus and others (he said) could prove it true.

66. They that were appointed to serve in Xerxes' fleet, when they had viewed the hurt done to the Laconians and crossed over from Trachis to Histaea, after three days' waiting sailed through the Euripus, and in three more days they arrived at Phalerum. To my thinking, the forces both of land and sea were no fewer in number when they brake into Athens than when they came to Sepias and Thermopylae; for against those that were lost in the storm, and at Thermopylae, and in the sea-fights off Artemisium, I set these, who at that time were not yet in the king's following—namely, the Melians, the Dorians, the Locrians, and the whole force of Boeotia (save only the Thespians and Plataeans), yea, and the men of Carystus and Andros and Tenos and the rest of the islands, save the five states of which I have before made mention.<sup>1</sup> For the farther the Persian pressed on into Hellas the more were the peoples that followed in his train.

67. So when all these were come to Athens, except the Parians (who had been left behind in Cythnus watching to see which way the war should incline)—the rest, I say, being come to Phalerum, Xerxes then came himself down to the fleet, that he might consort with the shipmen and hear their opinions. When he was come, and sat enthroned, there appeared before him at his summons the despots of their cities and the leaders of companies from the ships, and they sat according to the

<sup>1</sup> In ch. 40, where, however, six states are mentioned.

## HERODOTUS

ώς σφι βασιλείς ἐκάστω τιμὴν ἔδειπνος, πρῶτος  
μὲν οἱ Σιδώνιοι βασιλεῖς, μετὰ δὲ οἱ Τύριοι, ἐπὶ  
δὲ ὄλλοι. ὡς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξῆς ξένοι, πέμψας  
Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιοι εἰρώτα ἀποπειρώμενος ἐκάστου  
εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιέοιτο.

68. Ἐπει δὲ περιών εἰρώτα οἱ Μαρδόνιοι ἀρξά-  
μενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ  
τῶντὸ γυνάμην ἐξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην  
ποιέοσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη. "Εἰπεῖν μαζὶ<sup>1</sup>  
πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ως ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω, οὔτε  
κακίστῃ γενομένῃ ἐν τῇσι ναυμαχίγσι τῇσι πρὸς  
Εὐβοίη οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένη. δέσποτα,  
τὴν δὲ ἑοῦσαν γυνάμην με δίκαιον ἔστι ἀποδεί-  
κνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέοντα ἀριστα ἐς πρήγ-  
ματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω, φείδεο τῶν νεῶν  
μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιέο. οἱ γάρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν  
ἀνδρῶν κρέσσοντες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν  
διον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε  
ναυμαχίγσι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς  
Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ εὑρεκα ὄρμιζθης στρατεύεσθαι,  
ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδῶν δέ τοι  
ἴσταται οὐδείς οἱ δέ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπὸ ἀλλαξαν  
οὕτω ὡς κείνους ἐπρεπε. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀπο-  
βῆσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων πρήγματα, τοῦτο  
φράσω. ήν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχίην ποιεύ-  
μενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχης πρὸς τῇ μένων  
ἡ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως  
τοι δέσποτα χωρήσει τὰ τοέων ἐλήλυθας. οὐ  
γάρ οοί τε πολλῶν χρόνον εἰσὶ τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ  
Ἑλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδάς, κατὰ πόλεις δὲ  
ἴκαστοι φεύξονται. οὔτε γάρ σίτοις πάρα σφι ἐν  
τῇ οἰκείᾳ ταύτῃ, ως ἐγὼ πινθίσσομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς

## BOOK VIII. 67-68

honourable rank which the king had granted them severally, first in place the king of Sidon, and next he of Tyre, and then the rest. When they had sat down in order one after another, Xerxes sent Mardonius and put each to the test by questioning him if the Persian ships should offer battle.

68. Mardonius went about questioning them, from the Sidonian onwards; and all the rest gave their united voice for offering battle at sea; but Artemisia said: "Tell the king, I pray you, Mardonius, that I who say this have not been the hindmost in courage or in feats of arms in the fights near Euboea. Nay, master, but it is right that I should declare my opinion, even that which I deem best for your cause. And this I say to you—Spare your ships, and offer no battle at sea; for their men are as much stronger by sea than yours, as men are stronger than women. And why must you at all costs imperil yourself by fighting battles on the sea? have you not possession of Athens, for the sake of which you set out on this march, and of the rest of Hellas? no man stands in your path; they that resisted you have come off in such plight as beseemed them. I will show you now what I think will be the course of your enemies' doings. If you make no haste to fight at sea, but keep your ships here and abide near the land, or even go forward into the Peloponnesian, then, my master, you will easily gain that end wherefor you have come. For the Greeks are not able to hold out against you for a long time, but you will scatter them, and they will flee each to his city; they have no food in this island, as I am informed, nor, if you

## HERODOTUS

οικός, ἡν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνγες τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, ἀτρεμεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἱκουτας, οὐδέ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχέειν. ἡν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακοθεὶς τὸν πεζὸν πρασδηλήσηται. πρὸς δὲ, ὡς βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλεν, ὡς τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοί. σοὶ δὲ ἔοντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσὶ, οἱ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι ἔοντες Λίγυπτιοι τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὅφελος ἔστι οὐδέν."

69. Ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι μὲν ἥσταν εἴνοοι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο τοὺς λόγους ὡς κακοὶ τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, δτι οὐκ ἔα ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀγεόμενοί τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἀτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσι ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γυναικαὶ ἐν Ξέρξῃ, κάρτα τε ἥσθη τῇ γυνώμῃ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαῖην εἶναι τότε πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἵρεε. δμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Σύβοιη σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὡς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θεῆσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.

70. Ἐπει δὲ παρῆγγελλον ἀναπλέειν, ἀπῆγον τὰς γέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἡσυχίην. τότε μὲν μην οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νῦν γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν

BOOK VIII. 68-70

lead your army into the Peloponnesian, is it likely that those of them who have come from thence will abide unmoved; they will have no mind to fight sea-battles for Athens. But if you make haste to fight at once on sea, I fear lest your fleet take some hurt and thereby harm your army likewise. Moreover, O king, call this to mind—good men's slaves are wont to be evil and bad men's slaves good; and you, who are the best of all men, have evil slaves, that pass for your allies, men of Egypt and Cyprus and Cilicia and Pamphyria, in whom is no usefulness."

69. When Artemisia spoke thus to Mardonius, all that were her friends were sorry for her words, thinking that the king would do her some hurt for counselling him against a sea-fight; but they that had ill-will and jealousy against her for the honour in which she was held above all the allies were glad at her answer, thinking it would be her undoing. But when the opinions were reported to Xerxes he was greatly pleased by the opinion of Artemisia; he had ever deemed her a woman of worth and now held her in much higher esteem. Nevertheless he bade the counsel of the more part to be followed; for he thought that off Euboea his men had been slack fighters by reason of his absence, and now he purposed to watch the battle himself.

70. When the command to set sail was given, they put out to Salamis and arrayed their line in order at their ease. That day there was not time enough left to offer battle, for the night came; and they made preparation for the next day instead. But the

## HERODOTUS

ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ὑρρωδίη, οὐκ ἡκιντα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ὑρράδευν δὲ ὅτι αὗτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατῆμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νῆσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολυαρκήσανται, ἀπέκτεντες τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον τῶν δὲ Βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεοῦσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

71. Καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο ὄκως κατ' ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβαλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι, ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέντα, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἵζοντα, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ τῷ στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω, Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἵζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος. ἀπε δὲ ἔνοισιν μυριάδων πολλέοντ καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἤρετο τὸ ἔργον καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ϕάμμου πλιήρεες ἐσεφέροντα, καὶ ἐλίτινον οὐδέπα χρόνον οἱ βοηθόσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε πετόει οὔτε ἡμέρης.

72. Οἱ δὲ βοηθόσαντες ἐν τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρῆμεν οἵδε ἥσαν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἐρμιονέες, οὗτοι μὲν ἥσαν οἱ βοηθόσαντες καὶ ὑπέριρρωδέουντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι

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<sup>1</sup> A track (later made into a regular road) leading to the Isthmus along the face of Geraneia; narrow and even

## BOOK VIII. 70-72

Greeks were in fear and dread, and especially they that were from the Peloponnes; and the cause of their fear was, that they themselves were about to fight for the Athenians' country where they lay at Salamis, and if they were overcome they must be shut up and beleaguered in an island, leaving their own land unguarded. At the next nightfall, the land army of the foreigners began its march to the Peloponnes.

71. Nathless the Greeks had used every device possible to prevent the foreigners from breaking in upon them by land. For as soon as the Peloponnesians heard that Leonidas' men at Thermopylae were dead, they hasted together from their cities and encamped on the Isthmus, their general being the brother of Leonidas, Cleombrotus son of Anaxandrides. Being there encamped they broke up the Scironian road,<sup>1</sup> and thereafter built a wall across the Isthmus, having resolved in council so to do. As there were many tens of thousands there and all men wrought, the work was brought to accomplishment; for they carried stones to it and bricks and logs and crates full of sand, and they that mustered there never rested from their work by night or by day.

72. Those Greeks that mustered all their people at the Isthmus were the Lacedaemonians and all the Arcadians, the Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trozenians, and men of Hermione. These were they who mustered there, and were moved by great fear for Hellas in her peril; but the rest of the Peloponnesians cared

dangerous for some six miles, and very easily made impassable.

## HERODOTUS

Πελοπονησίοις ἐμελε πύδει. Ὁλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρυτα παροιχώκεε ἥδη.

73. Οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἑπτά, τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἔοντα κατὰ χώρην ἴδρυται νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἴκεον, Λακαδεῖς τε καὶ Κυνούριοι· ἐν δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ μὲν Πελοπονησοῦ οὐκ ἔξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέρτοι τῆς ἑωυτῶν, οἰκέει δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ τέσσερα ἐπήλυδα ἔστι, Δωριέες τε καὶ Λίτιωλοι καὶ Δρύσοπες καὶ Λήμυνοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλαὶ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Λίτιωλῶν δὲ Ἡλις μαύη, Δρυόπων δὲ Ἐρμιάντες καὶ Λασίνη ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλην τῇ Λακωνικῇ, Λημνίων δὲ Παρωρεῆται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ἔοντες δοκέουσι μαῦνοι εἶναι Ἰωνεῖς, ἐκδεδωρίευνται δὲ ὑπό τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἔοντες Ὄρνεῦται καὶ οἱ περίσικοι. τούτων ὡς τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔθνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενος ἐμῆδιζον.

74. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἱσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἀτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἥδη δρόμου θέοντες καὶ τῆσι μηναῖ οὐκ ἀλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι διως ταῦτα πινθανόμενοι ἄρρωδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ δῆφισι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τὴν Πελοπονησῷ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνήρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς στρῆ ἀργον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εύρυθιάδεω ἀβουλίην τέλος δὲ ἔξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν,

## BOOK VIII. 72-74

nothing ; and the Olympian and Carnean festivals were now past.<sup>1</sup>

73. Seven nations inhabit the Peloponnesus ; two of these, the Arcadians and Cynurians, are native to the soil and are now settled where they have ever been ; and one nation, the Achaean, has never departed from the Peloponnesus, but has left its own country and dwells in another. The four that remain of the seven have come from elsewhere, namely, the Dorians and Aetolians and Dryopians and Lemnians ; the Dorians have many notable cities, the Aetolians Elis alone ; the Dryopians have Hermione and that Asine which is near Cardamyle of Laconia ; and the Lemnians, all the Paroretae. The Cynurians are held to be Ionians, and the only Ionians native to the soil, but their Argive masters and time have made Dorians of them ; they are the people of Orneae and the country round. Now of these seven nations all the cities, save those aforesaid, sat apart from the war ; and if I may speak freely, by so doing they took the part of the enemy.

74. So the Greeks on the Isthmus had such labour to cope withal, seeing that now all they had was at stake, and they had no hope of winning renown with their ships ; but they that were at Salamis, although they heard of the work, were affrighted, and their dread was less for themselves than for the Peloponnesus. For a while there was but murmuring between man and man, and wonder at Eurybiades' unwisdom, but at the last came an open outbreak ; and an assembly was held, where there was much speaking of the same matters as before, some saying

<sup>1</sup> That is, there was no longer any excuse for their not coming. *Cp.* vii. 265.

## HERODOTUS

οἱ μὲν ὡς ἔς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὸν εἴη ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ πρὸ χώρης δοριαλῶτον μένοντας μάχεσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Λέγανται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

75. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλέης ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαβὼν ἔξερχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἔξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μῆδων ἄνδρα πλούσῳ ἐντελλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ οὖν μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους παιδῶν τὸν δῆ βατερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης Θεσπιά τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολεύτας, καὶ χρήμασι δλβιον. ὃς τότε πλούσῳ ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Βαρβάρων τάδε. Ἔπειψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναῖον λόθρη τῶν ἀλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσσοιτα δὲ οἱ Ἑλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργων ἀπάντων ἔξεργάσασθαι, ἦν μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς. οὗτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὄμοφρονέουσι οὕτε ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωτούν τε σφέας δψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μῆ.

76. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα σφι σημῆναις ἐκποδῶν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν ησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνος τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἥπειρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνηγορ μὲν τὸ ἀπ'

that they must sail away to the Peloponnese and face danger for that country, rather than abide and fight for a land won from them by the spear; but the Athenians and Aeginetans and Megarians pleading that they should remain and defend themselves where they were.

75. Then Themistocles, when the Peloponnesians were outvoting him, went privily out of the assembly, and sent to the Median fleet a man in a boat, charged with a message that he must deliver. This man's name was Scironns, and he was of Themistocles' household and attendant on his children; at a later day, when the Thespians were receiving men to be their citizens, Themistocles made him a Thespian, and a wealthy man withal. He now came in a boat and spoke thus to the foreigners' admirals: "I am sent by the admiral of the Athenians without the knowledge of the other Greeks (he being a friend to the king's cause and desiring that you rather than the Greeks should have the mastery) to tell you that the Greeks have lost heart and are planning flight, and that now is the hour for you to achieve an incomparable feat of arms, if you suffer them not to escape. For there is no union in their counsels, nor will they withstand you any more, and you will see them battling against each other, your friends against your foes."

76. With that declaration he departed away. The Persians put faith in the message; and first they landed many of their men on the islet Psyttalea, which lies between Salamis and the mainland; then, at midnight, they advanced their western wing

## HERODOTUS

έσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἄρφι τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχον τε μέχρι Μαινυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῆσι ηῆσι. τῶνδε δὲ εἰνεκα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι "Ελλησι μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἔξῃ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοίεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν ησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἴνεκεν, ώς ἐπεὰν γίνηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἔξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυτηρίων (ἐν γάρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῇ μελλούσῃ ἔσεσθαι ἐκείτο ηῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιπιεώσι τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. ἐποίεν δὲ συγῇ ταῦτα, ώς μή πινθανούσιοι οἱ ἑιαντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῇς πυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέοντο.

77. Χρησμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιδέγειν ώς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθίες, οὐδὲ βαυδόμενοι ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιάδε πρήγματα<sup>1</sup> ἀσβλέψας.

ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν ηῆσι γεφυρωστεί καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν ἐλπίδι μαινομένη, λιπαρὰς πέρσαιτες Ἀθήνας, δια δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὕβριος νιόν, δειπνὸν μαιμάοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πίεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> Ημετοι is suggested, and would certainly be more natural.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief notice of controversy respecting the operations off Salamis, see the Introduction to this volume. The locality of Oeos and Cynosura is conjectural.

towards Salamis for encirclement, and they too put out to sea that were stationed off Ceos and Cynosura ; and they held all the passage with their ships as far as Munychia.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of their putting out to sea was, that the Greeks might have no liberty even to flee, but should be hemmed in at Salamis and punished for their fighting off Artemisium. And the purpose of their landing Persians on the islet called Psyttalea was this, that as it was here in especial that in the sea fight men and wrecks would be washed ashore (for the island lay in the very path of the battle that was to be), they might thus save their friends and slay their foes. All this they did in silence, lest their enemies should know of it. So they made these preparations in the night, taking no rest.

77. But, for oracles, I have no way of gainsaying their truth ; for they speak clearly, and I would not essay to overthrow them, when I look into such matter as this :

" When that with lines of ships thy sacred coasts  
     they have fenced,  
 Artemis<sup>2</sup> golden-sworded, and thine, sea-washed  
     Cynosura,  
 All in the madness of hope, having ravished the  
     glory of Athens,  
 Then shall desire full fed, by pride o'erweening  
     engendered,  
 Raging in dreadful wrath and athirst for the  
     nations' destruction,  
 Utterly perish and fall ; for the justice of heaven  
     shall quench it ;

<sup>1</sup> There were temples of Artemis both at Salamis and at Munychia on the Attic shore.

## HERODOTUS

χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίξεται, αἵματι δὲ Ἀρης  
πόντου φοιτήσει. τότε ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ημαρ  
εὐρύσπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότια Νίκη.

Ἔτοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι  
ἀρτιλογίης χρησμῶν πέρι οὕτε αὐτὸς λέγειν  
τολμέω οὕτε παρ' ἄλλοιν ἐνδέκομαι.

78. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο  
ἀθισμὸς λόγου πολλός· ἥδεσταν δὲ οὐκων δῆτι  
σφέας περιεκυκλοῦντο τῇσι νηνσὶ οἱ βάροβαροι,  
ἄλλ' ὀσπέρ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους,  
ἔδύκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι.

79. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Ληγίνης  
διέβη Ἀριστεῖδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος  
μὲν ἔξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἐγὼ  
πενόμικα, πινθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἀριστον  
ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνησι καὶ δικαιότατον.  
οὗτος ἀνὴρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἔξεκαλέετο  
Θεμιστοκλέα, ἔντα μὲν ἐωυτῷ αὐτῷ φίλον ἔχθρὸν  
δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὅπο δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων  
κακῶν λίθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἔξεκαλέετο, θέλων  
αὐτῷ συμμίξαι· προακηκόσεε δὲ δῆτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ  
ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν  
Ἰσθμόν. ὡς δὲ ἴξηλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλέης, ἐλεγε  
Ἀριστεῖδης τάδε. "Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἔστι  
ἐν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ  
όκοτερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργά-  
σταται. λέγω δέ τοι δῆτι ισον ἔστι πολλά τε καὶ  
ὅλιγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόσου τοῦ ἐρθεῦτεν Πελο-

Bronze upon bronze shall clash, and the terrible  
 bidding of Ares  
 Redden the seas with blood. But Zeus far-seeing,  
 and hallowed  
 Victory then shall grant that Freedom dawn upon  
 Hellas."

Looking at such matter and seeing how clear is the utterance of Baeis, I neither venture myself to gainsay him as touching oracles nor suffer such gainsaying by others.

78. But among the admirals at Salamis there was a hot bout of argument; and they knew not as yet that the foreigners had drawn their ships round them, but supposed the enemy to be still where they had seen him stationed in the daylight.

79. But as they contended, there crossed over from Aegina Aristides son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, but one that had been ostracised by the commonalty; from that which I have learnt of his way of life I am myself well persuaded that he was the best and the justest man at Athens. He then came and stood in the place of council and called Themistocles out of it, albeit Themistocles was no friend of his but his chiefest enemy; but in the stress of the present danger he put that old feud from his mind, and so called Themistocles out, that he might converse with him. Now he had heard already, that the Peloponnesians desired to sail to the Isthmus. So when Themistocles came out, Aristides said, "Let the rivalry between us be now as it has been before, to see which of us two shall do his country more good. I tell you now, that it is all one for the Peloponnesians to talk much or little about sailing

## HERODOTUS

πονητσίοισι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος δι τοῦ οὐδὲ οὐδὲ θέλωσι Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης οἰοι τε ἔσανται ἐκπλῶσαι περιεχόμενα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἔσελθῶν σφι ταῦτα σήμηνον." Ο δὲ ἀμείθετο τοῖσιδε.

80. "Κάρτα τέ χρηστὰ διακελεύεται καὶ εὐηγγειλας· τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἔδειμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις. Ισθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων ἔδει γάρ, διτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἥθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπει περ ἦκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφι ἄγγειλον. ήν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ὡς οὐ ποιεύντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλά σφι σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθῶν ὡς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σημῆνες, ήν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ήν δὲ πύτονται μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, δομοιοι ἥμεν ἔσται οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἰ περ περιεχόμενα πανταχόθεν, ὡς σὺ λέγεις."

81. Ἐιθαῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθῶν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Λέγιμης τε ἦκειν καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθῶν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἕλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω παραρτέοσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὡς ἀλεξησαμένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴκας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὐτις ἐγίνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίης οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἔσαγγελθέντα.

82. Ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων ἤκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέσαστα, τῆς ἥρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, η περ δὴ ἐφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαι.

away from hence ; for I say from that which my eyes have seen that now even if the Corinthiaos and Eurybiades himself desire to sail out, they cannot ; we are hemmed in on all sides by our enemies. Do you go in now, and tell them this."

80. "Your exhortation is right useful," Themistocles answered, "and your news is good ; for you have come with your own eyes for witnesses of that which I desired might happen. Know that what the Medes do is of my contriving ; for when the Greeks would not of their own accord prepare for battle, it was needful to force them to it willy-nilly. But now since you have come with this good news, give your message to them yourself. If I tell it, they will think it is of my own devising, and they will never take my word for it that the foreigners are doing as you say ; nay, go before them yourself and tell them how it stands. When you have told them, if they believe you, that is best ; but if they will not believe you, it will be the same thing to us ; for if we are hemmed in on every side, as you say, they will no longer be able to take to flight."

81. Aristides then came forward and told them ; he was come, he said, from Aegina, and had been hard put to it to slip unseen through the blockade ; for all the Greek fleet was compassed round by Xerxes' ships, and they had best (he said) prepare to defend themselves. Thus he spoke, and took his departure. They fell a-wrangling again ; for the more part of the admirals would not believe that the news was true.

82. But while they yet disbelieved, there came a trireme with Tenian deserters, whose captain was one Panaetius son of Sosimenes, and this brought

## HERODOTUS

διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τῆμοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρθαρον κατελαῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ μη τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Λημνῇ ἐξεπληρώντο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι "Εὐλησι ἐν τὰς ὑγδῶκοιτα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας· δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

83. Τοῖσι δὲ "Εὐλησι ώς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τὰς Τημίου φήματα, παρεσκευίζοντο ως ναυμαχήσοντες. ίώς τε διέφαινε καὶ οἱ σύλλογοι τῶν ἐπιβιτέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὗ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέη, τὰ δὲ ἔπεια ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἡσσοσι ἀντιτίθέμενα, δοσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίγεται· παραινέντας δὲ τοῦτον τὰ κρέσσων αἰρέσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν φῆσιν, ἐσθαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας, καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἵκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγαίης τριήρης, ἡ κατὰ τοὺς Λιακίδας ἀπεδίμησε.

84. "Ἐνθαῦτα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἀπάσαν" Εὐλησι, ἀγαγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρθαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι "Εὐλησις ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούωντο καὶ ὠκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινής δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνήρ Ἀθηναῖος ἔξαραχθεὶς τοι τεθάλλειτ συμπλακεῖσθη δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι. οὗτοι δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινή Βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὗτοι λέγονται τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ὑρχήν, Λίγυινται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Λιακίδας ἀποδημησασαν ἐς Αἴγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἀρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ως φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακε-

## BOOK VIII. 82-84

them the whole truth. For that deed the men of Tenos were engraved on the tripod at Delphi among those that had vanquished the foreigner. With this ship that deserted to Salamis and the Lemnian which had already deserted to Artemisium, the Greek fleet, which had fallen short by two of three hundred and eighty, now attained to that full number.

83. The Greeks, believing at last the tale of the Tenians, made ready for battle. It was now earliest dawn, and they called the fighting men to an assembly, wherein Themistocles made an harangue in which he excelled all others; the tenor of his words was to array all the good in man's nature and estate against the evil; and having exhorted them to choose the better, he made an end of speaking and bade them embark. Even as they so did, came the trireme from Aegina which had been sent away for the Sons of Aeacus.<sup>1</sup>

84. With that the Greeks stood out to sea in full force, and as they stood out the foreigners straightway fell upon them. The rest of the Greeks began to back water and beach their ships; but Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, pushed out to the front and charged a ship; which being entangled with his, and the two not able to be parted, the others did now come to Aminias' aid and joined battle. This is the Athenian story of the beginning of the fight; but the Aeginetans say that the ship which began it was that one which had been sent away to Aegina for the Sons of Aeacus. This story also is told,—that they saw the vision of a woman, who

<sup>1</sup> *cp. 64.*

## HERODOTUS

λεύστασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἄπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὃνειδίστασαν πρύτερον τάδε, “Π δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κύσον ἔτι πρύμνην ἀγακρούεσθε;”

85. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὰ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνός τε καὶ ἑσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἰωνες οὓτοι δὲ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἥω τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιά, ἐνθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέους ἐντολὰς ὅλέγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες οὐ. ἔχω μέν τυν συχνῶν οὖνδατα τριηράρχων καταλέξαι τὰν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλάντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλαίκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦδε δὲ εἶνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μουνών, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγρίφη καὶ χώρῃ ἐδωρήθη πολλῇ. οἱ δὲ εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὄρασάγγας καλέονται περσιστέ.

86. Περὶ μέν τυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραΐζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἱ δὲ ὑπ' Λέγινητέων. ἀτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ γαιμαχεόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδέν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι ολόγ περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἡσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταῦτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐωντῶν ἡ πρὸς Εὐθοίη, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην, ἐβόκεε τε ἔκαστος ἐωντὸν θεήσασθαι βασιλέα.

cried commands loud enough for all the Greek fleet to hear, uttering first this reproach, "Sirs, what madness is this? how long will you still be backing water?"

86. The Phoenicians (for they had the western wing, towards Eleusis) were arrayed opposite to the Athenians, and to the Lacedaemonians the Ionians, on the eastern wing, nearest to Piraeus. Yet but few of them fought slackly, as Themistocles had bidden them, and the more part did not so. Many names I could record of ships' captains that took Greek ships; but I will speak of none save Theomestor son of Androdamas and Phylaeus son of Histiaeus, Samians both; and I make mention of these alone, because Theomestor was for thisfeat of arms made by the Persians despot of Samos, and Phylaeus was recorded among the king's benefactors and given much land. These benefactors of the king are called in the Persian language, *orosangae*.<sup>1</sup>

86. Thus it was with these two; but the great multitude of the ships were shattered at Salamis, some destroyed by the Athenians and some by the Aeginetans. For since the Greeks fought orderly and in array, but the foreigners were by now disordered and did nought of set purpose, it was but reason that they should come to such an end as befel them. Yet on that day they were and approved themselves by far better men than off Euboea; all were zealous, and feared Xerxes, each man thinking that the king's eye was on him.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps from old Persian *var*, to guard, and *Kahayata*, king; or, as Rawlinson suggests, from *Khur sangha* (Zend) = worthy of praise or record. (How and Wells' note.)

## HERODOTUS

87. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὡς ἐκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥγωνίζονται· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ἀντὶ εὑδοκίμησε μάλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλέι· ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐς θύρυθον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρῆγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηῦς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἐμπροσθε γάρ αὐτῆς ἤσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἱοῦσα, ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσγ. διακομένη γάρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φίλῃ ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου. εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἔοντων, οὐ μέρτοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηῦς· ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίγ χρησαμένη διπλᾶ ἐωτῆν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο. ὁ τε γάρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος ὃς εἶδε μν ἐμβάλλουσαν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἡ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἡ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπεστο.

88. Τοῦτο μὲν τοιαῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη δόστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένη ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὑδοκίμησαι παρὰ Ξέρξη. λέγεται γάρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δῆ τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων "Δέσποτα, ὥρας Ἀρτεμισίην ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολε-

87. Now as touching some of the others I cannot with exactness say how they fought severally, foreigners or Greeks; but what befel Artemisia made her to be esteemed by the king even more than before. The king's side being now in dire confusion, Artemisia's ship was at this time being pursued by a ship of Attica; and she could not escape, for other friendly ships were in her way, and it chanced that she was the nearest to the enemy; wherefore she resolved that she would do that which afterwards tended to her advantage, and as she fled pursued by the Athenian she charged a friendly ship that bore men of Calyndus and the king himself of that place, Damasithymus. It may be that she had had some quarrel with him while they were still at the Hellespont, but if her deed was done of set purpose, or if the Calyndian met her by crossing her path at haphazard, I cannot say. But having charged and sunk the ship, she had the good luck to work for herself a double advantage. For when the Attic captain saw her charge a ship of foreigners, he supposed that Artemisia's ship was Greek or a deserter from the foreigners fighting for the Greeks, and he turned aside to deal with others.

88. By this happy chance it came about that she escaped and avoided destruction; and moreover the upshot was that the very harm which she had done won her great favour in Xerxes' eyes. For the king (it is said) saw her charge the ship as he viewed the battle, and one of the bystanders said, "Sire, see you Artemisia, how well she fights, and

## HERODOTUS

μάσιν κατέδυσε; " καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέοθαι εἰ ἀληθέως  
ἔστι Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάραι, σαφέως  
τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεός ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ δια-  
φθαρεῖσαν ἡπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίην. τά τε γὰρ  
ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνιήνεικε ἐς εύτυχίην  
γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεός  
μηδένα ἀποστρέψαντα κατίγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην  
δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα "Οἱ μὲν  
ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες  
ἄνδρες." ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.

89. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ ταύτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ  
στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγυνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἐών  
ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ ὄνομαστοί  
Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων,  
ὅλιγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἀτε γὰρ νέειν  
ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ  
ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα  
διένεον. τῶν δὲ θαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ  
θαλάσσῃ διεφθάρησαν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι.  
ἔπει δὲ αἱ πρωταὶ ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα  
αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείραντο· οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγ-  
μένοι, ἃ τὸ πρόσθε τῆσι τηνσὶ παριέναι πειρώ-  
μενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὗτοὶ ἔργον βασιλέει,  
τῆσι σφετέρησι τηνσὶ φευγούσησι περιέπιπτον.

90. Εγγένετα δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ.  
τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο,  
ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἰώνας,  
αἱ δι' ἑκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων.  
συνιήνεικε ἀν τὸν δόστε Ἰώνων τε τοὺς στρα-  
τηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς δια-  
βάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν. ἔτι τούτων  
ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε μηδὶ Ἀττικὴ Σαμοθρακική  
86

how she has sunk an enemy ship?" Xerxes then asking if it were truly Artemisia that had done the deed, they affirmed it, knowing well the ensign of her ship; and they supposed that the ship she had sunk was an enemy; for the luckiest chance of all which had (as I have said) befallen her was, that not one from the Calyndian ship was saved alive to be her accuser. Hearing what they told him, Xerxes is reported to have said, "My men have become women, and my women men"; such, they say, were his words.

89. In that hard fighting Xerxes' brother the admiral Ariabignes, son of Darius, was slain, and withal many other Persians and Medes and allies of renown, and some Greeks, but few; for since they could swim, they who lost their ships, yet were not slain in hand-to-hand fight, swam across to Salamis; but the greater part of the foreigners were drowned in the sea, not being able to swim. When the foremost ships were turned to flight, it was then that the most of them were destroyed; for the men of the rearmost ranks, pressing forward in their ships that they too might display their valour to the king, ran foul of their friends' ships that were in flight.

90. It happened also amid this disorder that certain Phoenicians whose ships had been destroyed came to the king and accused the Ionians of treason, saying that it was by their doing that the ships had been lost; the end of which matter was, that the Ionian captains were not put to death, and those Phoenicians who accused them were rewarded as I will show. While they yet spoke as aforesaid, a Samothracian ship charged an Attic; and while

## HERODOTUS

ιην. Ἡ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη  
Αἰγαίων οὐκέτι κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρακῶν τὴν  
νέα. ἀτε δὲ ἔντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρακῖκες  
τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλ-  
λουτες ἀπήραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον  
αὐτῖν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐρρύσατο·  
ώς γάρ εἶδε σφέας Ζέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἔργασα-  
μένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οὐαὶ ὑπερλυ-  
πεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἴτιομενος, καὶ σφεων  
ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι.  
ὅκως γάρ τινα ίδοι Ζέρξης τῶν ἁυτοῦ ἔργουν  
τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναιμαχίῃ, κατίμενος  
ὑπὸ τῷ ὅρει τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμίνος τὸ καλέεται  
Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπινθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ  
γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον  
καὶ τὴν πόλιν πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο  
φίλος ἔων Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεὼν  
τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικησυ πάθεος. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς  
τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.

91. Τῶν δὲ Βαρβάρων ἐν φυγὴν τραπομένων  
καὶ ἐκπλεόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάλιμον. Αἰγαῖηται  
ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου  
ᾶξια. οἱ μὲν γάρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκε-  
ράζοντες τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας  
τῶν νεών, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλεούσας· ὅκως  
δὲ τινὲς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι  
ἔσπειπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινῆτας.

92. Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἡ τε Θεμιστοκλέος  
διάκονσα νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κρεοῦ ἀνδρὸς  
Αἰγινῆτεω νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίη, ἡ περ εἶδε  
τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγαίην,  
88

## BOOK VIII. 90-92

the Attic ship was sinking, a ship of Aegina bore down and sank the Samothracian; but the Samothracians, being javelin throwers, swept the fighting men with a shower of javelins off from the ship that had sunk theirs, and boarded and seized her themselves. Thereby the Ionians were saved; for when Xerxes saw this great feat of their arms, he turned on the Phoenicians (being moved to blame all in the bitterness of his heart) and commanded that their heads be cut off, that so they might not accuse better men, being themselves cowards. For whenever Xerxes, from his seat under the hill over against Salamis called Aegaleos, saw any feat achieved by his own men in the battle, he inquired who was the doer of it, and his scribes wrote down the names of the ship's captain and his father and his city. Moreover it tended somewhat to the doom of the Phoenicians that Ariaramnes, a Persian, was there, who was a friend of the Ionians. So Xerxes' men dealt with the Phoenicians.

91. The foreigners being routed and striving to win out to Phalerum, the Aeginetans lay in wait for them in the passage and then achieved notable deeds; for the Athenians amid the disorder made havoc of all ships that would resist or fly, and so did the Aeginetans with those that were sailing out of the strait; and all that escaped from the Athenians fell in their course among the Aeginetans.

92. Two ships met there, Themistocles' ship pursuing another, and one that bore Polycritus son of Cris of Aegina; this latter had charged a Sidonian, the same which had taken the Aeginetan

## HERODOTUS

έπ' ἡς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχενός, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἰνεκα είχον ἐν τῇ υῇ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι τὸν δὴ περιάγουσα πῦρα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἥλω ἡ υῆς ἡ Σιδωνίη, διστε Πυθέην σύτῳ σωθῆναι ἐς Λίγυναν. ὡς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγρα τὸ σημήιον ἴδων τῆς στρατιγίδος, καὶ βίσσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Λίγυνητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὄντειδίζων. ταῦτα μέν τον υῇ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε οἱ Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκουτο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

93. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχῇ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Λίγυνηται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτος τε ὁ Λίγυνητης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἄμεινης Παλληνεύς, ὃν καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔμαθε δτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέον Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἀν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥλω, τοῖσι γάρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀεθλον ἐκείτο μύριαι ὀραχμαῖ, ὃς ἂν μιν ζωὴν ἔλῃ δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναικα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὗτη μὲν δῆ, ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἥσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένονται, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

94. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάν, ὡς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα,

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<sup>1</sup> Polycritus cries to Themistocles, "See how friendly we are to the Persians!" Polycritus and his father had been

## BOOK VIII. 92-94

ship that watched off Sciathus, wherein was Pytheas son of Ischenous, that Pytheas whom when gashed with wounds the Persians kept aboard their ship and made much of for his valour; this Sidonian ship was carrying Pytheas among the Persians when she was now taken, so that thereby he came safe back to Aegina. When Polycritus saw the Attic ship, he knew it by seeing the admiral's ship's ensign, and cried out to Themistocles with bitter taunt and reproach as to the friendship of Aegina with the Persians.<sup>1</sup> Such taunts did Polycritus hurl at Themistocles, after that he had charged an enemy ship. As for the foreigners whose ships were yet undestroyed, they fled to Phalerum and took refuge with the land army.

93. In that sea-fight the nations that won most renown were the Aeginetans, and next to them the Athenians; among men the most renowned were Polycritus of Aegina and two Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyrus and Aminias of Pallene, he who pursued after Artemisia. Had he known that she was in that ship, he had never been stayed ere he took hers or lost his own; such was the bidding given to the Athenian captain, and there was a prize withal of ten thousand drachmae for whoever should take her alive; for there was great wrath that a woman should come to attack Athens. She, then, escaped as I have already said; and the rest also whose ships were undestroyed were at Phalerum.

94. As for the Corinthian admiral Adimantus, the Athenians say that at the very moment when the ships joined battle he was struck with terror and taken as hostages by the Athenians when Aegina was charged with favouring the Persians (vi. 40, 73).

## HERODOTUS

τὰ ἴστια ἀειράμενοι σίχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ιδόντας  
δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν  
ώσαύτως σίχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γένεσθαι  
τῆς Σαλαμινής κατὰ ἵρον Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος,  
περιπίπτειν σφι κέλητα θείη πομπῆ, τὸν οὐτε  
πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδέντα, οὗτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι.  
τῆδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἴναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα.  
ὡς γάρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. "Ἄδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀπο-  
στρέψας τὰς ρέας ἐς φυγὴν ὅρμησαι καταπροδόντες  
τοὺς Ἑλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι δύον αὐτοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ἥρωντο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἔχθρων." ταῦτα  
λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γάρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὗτις  
τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἱοί τε εἰν οὐρανοῖς δύον  
ἀποθνήσκειν, ἡν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνωνται οἱ Ἑλ-  
ληνες. οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτῶν  
τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ' ἔξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς  
τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει  
ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι  
ὅμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς  
ιαυμαχίης τομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρίει δέ σφι  
καὶ ἡ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάς.

95. Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος,  
τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς  
ἄνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ  
περὶ Σαλαμίνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίεε παραλαβὼν  
πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτέων οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ  
τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινής χώρης, γένος ἔοντες

paul, and hoisting his sails fled away; and when the Corinthians saw their admiral's ship fleeing they were off and away likewise. But when (so the story goes) they came in their flight near that part of Salamis where is the temple of Athene Seirus,<sup>1</sup> there by heaven's providence a boat met them which none was known to have sent, nor had the Corinthians, ere it drew nigh to them, known aught of the doings of the fleet; and this is how they infer heaven's hand in the matter: when the boat came nigh the ships, those that were in it cried, "Adimantus, you have turned back with your ships in flight, and betrayed the Greeks; but even now they are winning the day as fully as they ever prayed that they might vanquish their enemies." Thus they spoke, and when Adimantus would not believe they said further that they were ready to be taken for hostages and slain if the Greeks were not victorious for all to see. Thereupon Adimantus and the rest did turn their ships about and came to the fleet when all was now over and done. Thus the Athenians report of the Corinthians; but the Corinthians deny it, and hold that they were among the foremost in the battle; and all Hellas bears them witness likewise.

95. But Aristides son of Lysimachus, that Athenian of whose great merit I have lately made mention, did in this rout at Salamis as I will show: taking many of the Athenian men-at-arms who stood arrayed on the shores of Salamis, he carried them across to

<sup>1</sup> The temple stood on the southern extremity of Salamis. If the Persians at the outset of the battle were occupying the ends of the wide strait between Salamis and the mainland, it is not clear how the Corinthians could get to this point.

## HERODOTUS

\* Λθηραῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε  
ἄγων, οὗ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ  
κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96. \*Ως δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες  
ἐφετὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἑλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα  
ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ζόντα, ἔτοιμοι ἤσαν ἐς ἄλλην  
ναυμαχίην. ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεόσησι υησὶ  
ἔτι χρῆσεσθαι βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ  
ὑπολαβὸν ἀνεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὴν ἴησον τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· διστε ἀπο-  
πληρωθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν  
περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ  
Μουσαΐφ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτη  
ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον  
τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηραῖῳ ἀνδρὶ<sup>2</sup>  
χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας.

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναικες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι·  
τοῦτο δὲ ἐμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἐσεσθαι.  
97. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἐμαθε τὸ γεγονός πάθος,  
δεῖσας μὴ τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἑλλησι  
ἢ αὐτοὶ ροήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον  
λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεῖς ἐν τῇ  
Εύρωπῃ κινδυνεύση ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε.  
Θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἑλλησι  
μήτε τοῖσι ἐωτοῖ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπει-  
ράτο διαχοῦν. γαύλους τε Φοινικήσιον συνέδεε.  
ἴνα ἀγτί τε σχεδίης ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε  
ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος.

<sup>1</sup> A narrow headland 2½ miles south of Phalerum; just where ships would be driven from the battle by a west wind.

## BOOK VIII. 95-97

the island Psyttalea, and they slaughtered all the Persians who were on that islet.

96. The sea-fight being broken off, the Greeks towed to Salamis all the wrecks that were still afloat in those waters, and held themselves ready for another battle, thinking that the king would yet again use his ships that were left. But many of the wrecks were caught by a west wind and carried to the strand in Attica called Colias;<sup>1</sup> so that not only was the rest of the prophecy fulfilled which had been uttered by Baeis and Musaeus concerning that sea-fight, but also that which had been prophesied many years ago by an Athenian oracle-monger named Lysistratus, about the wrecks that were here cast ashore (the import of which prophecy no Greek had noted) :

"Also the Colian dames shall roast their barley  
with oar-blades."

But this was to happen after the king's departure.

97. When Xerxes was aware of the calamity that had befallen him, he feared lest the Greeks (by Ionian counsel or their own devising) might sail to the Hellespont to break his bridges, and he might be cut off in Europe and in peril of his life; and so he planned flight. But that neither the Greeks nor his own men might discover his intent, he essayed to build a mole across to Salamis,<sup>2</sup> and made fast a line of Phoenician barges to be a floating bridge and a wall; and he made preparation for war, as though he would fight at sea again. The rest who saw him

<sup>1</sup> Ctesias and Strabo place this project before and not after the battle; plainly it would have been useless (and indeed impossible) to the Persians after their defeat.

## HERODOTUS

όρωντες δέ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσπαντα  
εὖ ἡπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκεύασται  
μένων πολεμῆσειν. Μαρδόπον δὲ οὐδὲν ταύτων  
ἔλαγθανε ὡς μᾶλιστα ἔμπειρον ἔόντα τῆς ἑκείνου  
διατροίης.

98. Ταῦτά τε ἄμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε καὶ ἐπεμπεῖ ἐς  
Πέρσας ἀγγελέοιτα τὴν παρενσύνην σφι συμφορήν.  
τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν δὲ τι βᾶσσον  
παραγίνεται θυητὸν ἔοντα οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι  
ἔξενρηται τοῦτο. λέγοντι γὰρ ὡς ὁσέων ἀν  
ἡμερέων γάρ οὐδέ τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ  
ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδοῖς ἐκάπτην  
ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος τοὺς οὗτε νιφετός,  
οὐκ διβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ τύξις ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατα-  
νύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρομον τὴν ταχίστην.  
ὁ μὲν δὴ πρώτος δραμῶν παραδίδει τὰ ἐντεταλμένα  
τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δευτέρος τῷ τρίτῳ τὰ δὲ ἐιθεύτεν  
ἥδη κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδό-  
μενα, κατά περ ἐν "Ελλησι η λαμπαδηφορίη τὴν  
τῷ Πειστῷ ἐπιτελέουσι, τούτῳ τὸ δρύμημα  
τῶν ἵππων καλέοντι Πέρσαι ἀγγελήσαν.

99. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπι-  
κομένη, ᾧ ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω  
δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπαλειφθέντας ὡς τάς τε  
όδοὺς μυρσίνη πάσας ἐστάρεσσιν καὶ ἐθυμίων  
θυμιήματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥσπαι ἐν θυσίησί τε καὶ  
εὐπαθείησι. ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίη ἐπεσελ-  
θεῖσα συνέχεε οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρή-

<sup>1</sup> Torch-races were run at certain Athenian festivals. They were of various kinds. One was "a relay or team race. There were several lines of runners; the first man in each

so doing were fully persuaded that he was in all earnestness prepared to remain there and carry on the war; but none of this deceived Mardonius, who had best experience of Xerxes' purposes.

98. While Xerxes did thus, he sent a messenger to Persia with news of his present misfortune. Now there is nothing mortal that accomplishes a course more swiftly than do these messengers, by the Persians' skilful contrivance. It is said that as many days as there are in the whole journey, so many are the men and horses that stand along the road, each horse and man at the interval of a day's journey; and these are stayed neither by snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness from accomplishing their appointed course with all speed. The first rider delivers his charge to the second, the second to the third, and thence it passes on from hand to hand, even as in the Greek torch-bearers' race<sup>1</sup> in honour of Hephaestus. This riding-post is called in Persia, *angareion*.<sup>2</sup>

99. When the first message came to Susa, telling that Xerxes had taken Athens, it gave such delight to the Persians who were left at home that they strewed all the roads with myrtle boughs and burnt incense and gave themselves up to sacrificial feasts and jollity; but the second, coming on the heels of the first, so confounded them that they all rent

line had his torch lighted at the altar and ran with it at full speed to the second, to whom he passed it on, the second to the third, and so on till the last man carried it to the goal. The line of runners which first passed its torch alight to the goal was the winning team" (How and Wells).

<sup>1</sup> ἄγγειος is apparently a Babylonian word, the Persian word for a post-rider being in Greek ἀράδης (How and Wells). ἄγγειος passed into Greek usage; cp. Aesch. Ag. 242.

## HERODOTUS

Εαντο πάντες, βοή τε καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἔχρεωντο  
ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδάνιον ἐν αὐτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ αὖτο  
δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι  
ἐποίειν ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξη δειμαίνοντες.

100. Καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα  
μεταξὺ χρόνων γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς  
σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἐπαυσε. Μαρδάνιος δὲ ὑρῶν  
μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ταυμαχίης  
παιεύμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν Βου-  
λεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἑωυτὸν  
ὡς δώσει δίκην ἀναγρώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι  
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέσσον εἴη ἀνακινδυνεύ-  
σαι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς  
τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων πιωρηθέντα.  
πλέον μέντοι ἔφερε οἱ γυνώμη κατεργάσασθαι  
τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λογισάμενος ὡν ταῦτα προσέφερε  
τὸν λόγον τόνδε. "Δέσποτα, μῆτε λυπέο μῆτε  
συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῦ τοῦδε τοῦ  
γεγονότος εὑνέκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἄγων  
οὐ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἔστι ήμιν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ  
τίππων. σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν  
σφίσι ηδη δοκεόντων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβὰς ἀπὸ  
τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθῆναι οὕτ' ἐκ τῆς  
ἡπείρου τῆσδε· οἵ τε ήμιν ἥρτιώθησαν, ἔδοσαν  
δίκας. εἰ μέν νυν δοκέει, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς  
Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν, παρέχει  
ποιέειν ταῦτα. μηδὲ δυσθύμεε· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι  
Ἑλλησι οὐδεμία ἔκδυστις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν  
ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους.  
μάλιστα μὲν νῦν ταῦτα ποιεε· εἰ δέ ἀρά τοι  
βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν  
στρατιὴν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν. σὺ

their tunics, and cried and lamented without ceasing, holding Mardonius to blame ; and it was not so much in grief for their ships that they did this as because they feared for Xerxes himself.

100. Such was the plight of the Persians for all the time until the coming of Xerxes himself ended it. But Mardonius, seeing that Xerxes was greatly distressed by reason of the sea-fight, and suspecting that he planned flight from Athens, considered with himself that he would be punished for overpersuading the king to march against Hellas, and that it was better for him to risk the chance of either subduing Hellas or dying honourably by flying at a noble quarry ; yet his hope rather inclined to the subduing of Hellas ; wherefore taking all this into account he made this proposal : " Sire, be not grieved nor greatly distressed by reason of this that has befallen us. It is not on things of wood that all the issue hangs for us, but on men and horses ; and there is not one of these men, who think that they have now won a crowning victory, that will disembark from his ship and essay to withstand you, no, nor anyone from this mainland ; they that have withheld us have paid the penalty. If then it so please you, let us straightway attack the Peloponnesus ; or if it please you to wait, that also we can do. Be not cast down ; for the Greeks have no way of escape from being accountable for their former and their latter deeds, and becoming your slaves. It is best then that you should do as I have said ; but if you are resolved that you will lead your army away, even then I have another

## HERODOTUS

Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσῃς καταγελάστους γενέσθαι· Ἐλλησι τούδε γάρ ἐν Πέρσῃ τοῖς τις δεδῆληται τῶν πριγγιμάτων, οὐδὲ ἔρεις ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Λίγυπτοι καὶ Κύπριοι τε καὶ Κιλικες κακοὶ ἐγενούτο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ηδη δι, ἐπειδὴ σὺ Πέρσαι τοι αἴτιοι ἔιστι, ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἴ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν. σὺ μὲν ἐς ἥθεα τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀπέλαυνε τῆς στρατῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν, ἐμὲ δὲ σοι χρὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον."

101. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἔχάρη τε καὶ ἡσθη, πρὸς Μαρδόνιον τε βαυλευσάμενος ἐφη ὑποκριτέεσθαι ὄκότερον πασέστει τούτων. ὡς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἄμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι, ἔδοξε αἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐν συμβουλίῃ μεταπέμψισθαι, ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο μούνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἡμ. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μεταστῆσάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τούς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἀλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. "Κελεύει με Μαρδόνιος μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὡς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθεος εἰσί, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοισι σφι γένονται" ἀν ἀπόδεξε. ἐμὲ δὲ ἡ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιέειν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν δέ με κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἐμοί. σὺ δὲ ἐμοί, καὶ γάρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εὖ συνεβού-

plan. Do not, O king, make the Persians a laughing-stock to the Greeks; for if you have suffered harm, it is by no fault of the Persians, nor can you say that we have anywhere done less than brave men should; and if Phoenicians and Egyptians and Cypriots and Cilicians have so done, it is not the Persians who have any part in this disaster. Wherefore since the Persians are nowise to blame, be guided by me; if you are resolved that you will not remain, do you march away homewards with the greater part of your army; but it is for me to enslave and deliver Hellas to you, with three hundred thousand of your host whom I will choose."

101. When Xerxes heard that, he was as glad and joyful as a man in his evil case might be, and said to Mardonius that he would answer him when he had first taken counsel which of the two plans he would follow; and as he consulted with those Persians whom he summoned, he was fain to bid Artemisia too to the council, because he saw that she alone at the former sitting had discerned what was best to do. When Artemisia came, Xerxes bade all others withdraw, both Persian counsellors and guards, and said to her: "It is Mardonius' counsel that I should abide here and attack the Peloponnesians; for the Persians, he says, and the land army are nowise to blame for our disaster, and of that they would willingly give proof. Wherefore it is his counsel that I should do this; else he offers to choose out three hundred thousand men of the army and deliver Hellas to me enslaved, while I myself by his counsel march away homeward with the rest of the host. Now therefore I ask of you:

## HERODOTUS

λευσας τῆς γενομένης οὐκ ἔωστα ποιέεσθαι, μὲν τε συμβούλευσαν ὅκότερη ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὖ βουλευσάμενος."

102. "Ο μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλεύετο, ή δὲ λέγει τάδε. "Βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἔστι συμβούλευμένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἀρισταί εἰπασσαν, ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρίγγυπσι δοκεῖ μοι αὐτὸν μὲν σε ἀπελαύνειν διέσω, Μαρδόνιον δέ, εἰ ἔθέλει τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιῆσαι, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖσι ἔθέλει. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ ήν καταστρέψυται τὰ φησὶ θέλειν καὶ οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργαν ὡς δέσποτα γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο. τοῦτο δὲ ήν τὰ ἐγαρτία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μερίδη ἔσται σέο τε περιεόντος καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἰκον τὸν σὸν ήν γὰρ σύ τε περιῆς καὶ οἰκος ὁ σός, πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἑλληνες. Μαρδονίου δέ, ήν τι πάθη, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται, οὐδέ τι μικῶντες οἱ Ἑλληνες μικῶσι, δοῦλον σὸν ἀπαλέσσαντες σὺ δέ, τῶν εἶνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποιήσας, πυρώσας τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπελᾶς."

103. "Ησθη τε δὴ τῷ συμβούλῳ Ξέρξῃ λέγοντα γάρ ἐπετύχανε τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐνόee. οὐδὲ γάρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἐμενε ἀν δοκέειν ἐμοὶ· οὗτοι καταρροδίκες. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἀγοντας αὐτοῦ παιδας ἐς Ἐφεσον νόθοι γάρ τινες παιδές οἱ συνέσποντο.

104. Συνέπερπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἐρμότιμον, γένος μὲν ἔοιτα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ τος

as you did rightly in counselling me against the late sea-fight, so now counsel me as to which of these two things I shall be best advised to do."

102. Being thus asked for advice she replied: "It is difficult, O king, to answer your asking for advice by saying that which is best; but in the present turn of affairs I think it best that you march away back, and that Mardonius, if he wills and promises to do as he says, be left here with those whom he desires. For if he subdue all that he offers to subdue, and prosper in the purpose wherewith he speaks, the achievement, Sire, is yours; for it will be your servants that have wrought it. But if again the issue be contrary to Mardonius' opinion, it is no great misfortune so long as you and all that household of yours be safe; for while you and they of your house are safe, many a time and oft will the Greeks have to fight for their lives. As for Mardonius, if aught ill befall him, it is no matter for that; nor will any victory of the Greeks be a victory in truth, when they have but slain your servant; but as for you, you will be marching home after the burning of Athens, which thing was the whole purpose of your expedition."

103. Artemisia's counsel pleased Xerxes; for it happened that she spoke his own purpose; in truth I think that he would not have remained, though all men and women had counselled him so to do; so penitent-stricken was he. Having then thanked Artemisia, he sent her away to carry his sons to Ephesus; for he had some bastard sons with him.

104. With these sons he sent Hermotimus as guardian; this man was by birth of Pedasa, and the

## HERODOTUS

οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὑρούχων παρὰ βασιλέων<sup>1</sup> [οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τοντέοισι τοιώνδε συμφέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταῦτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ τι ἐιτὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπόν, τότε ἡ ἴερείη αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δέ σφι διε ἥδη ἐγένετο.

105. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἐρμότιμος ἦν] τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἥδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἕδρεν. ἀλλότα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ἀνέσται Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χίος, δις τὴν ζόην κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτίσαιτο παῖδας εἰδεος ἐπαρμένους, ἐκτάμιων ἀγνέων ἐπώδεες ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Βαρθύροισι τιμιότεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὑρούχοι πίστιος εἶνεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἀλλούτε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἀξέταμε πολλούς, ἀτε ποιεύμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν ξόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον, καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδιυπόχεε ὁ Ἐρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἀλλων δώρων, χρόνον δὲ προίοντος πάντων τῶν εὑρούχων ἐτιμήθη μίλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξη.

106. Ως δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὄρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλὼν ἐν Σάρδισι, ἵνθιστα καταβὰς κατὰ δῆ τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἐρμότιμος ἐφ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χίοι μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ἐλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλούς καὶ φιλίους λόγους, πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγοντι δσα αὐτὸς δε ἔκεινον ἔχοι ἀγαθόν, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ ἐπισχνεύμενος

most honoured by Xerxes of all his eunuchs. The people of Pedasa dwell above Halicarnassus. This happens among these people: when aught untoward is about to befall within a certain time all those that dwell about their city, the priestess of Athene then grows a great beard. This had already happened to them twice.

105. Hermotimus, who came from this place Pedasa, had achieved a fuller vengeance for wrong done to him than had any man within my knowledge. Being taken captive by enemies and exposed for sale, he was bought by one Panionius of Chios, a man that had set himself to earn a livelihood out of most wicked practices; he would procure beautiful boys and castrate and take them to Sardis and Ephesus, where he sold them for a great price; for the foreigners value eunuchs more than perfect men, by reason of the full trust that they have in them. Now among the many whom Panionius had castrated in the way of trade was Hermotimus, who was not in all things unfortunate; for he was brought from Sardis among other gifts to the king, and as time went on he stood higher in Xerxes' favour than any other eunuch.

106. Now while the king was at Sardis and there preparing to lead his Persian armament against Athens, Hermotimus came for some business that he had in hand down to the part of Mysia which is inhabited by Chians and called Atarneus, and there he found Panionius. Perceiving who he was, he held long and friendly converse with him; "it is to you," he said, "that I owe all this prosperity of

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are probably an interpolation, from l. 175, where they occur more appropriately.

## HERODOTUS

ἀντὶ τούτων δοτα μιν ἀγαθὰ παιῆσει ἡμὶ κομίστας  
τὸν οἰκέτας οἰκέη ἔκεινη, ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον  
ἀσμενον τὸν λόγον τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ  
τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναικα. ὡς δὲ ἄρα πανοική μιν  
περιέλαβε, ἐλεγε ὁ Ἐρμότιμος τάδε. “Ο πάντων  
ἄνδρῶν ἥδη μάλιστα ἀπ’ ἔργον ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν  
βίον κτησάμενε, τί σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν  
ἔμων τίς σε προγόνων ἔργασατο, οὐ σὲ ἢ τῶν σῶν  
τινα, δτι με αντὶ ἄνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδίν εἶναι;  
ἔδοκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμηχανῶ τότε οἵ σε  
ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπή-  
γαγόν ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἔμμες, ὥστε σέ μὴ μέρψισθαι  
τὴν ἀπ’ ἐμέο τοι ἐσπερένην δίκην.” ὡς δέ οἱ  
ταῦτα ἀνείδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν παιδῶν ἐς δψιν  
ἱμαργκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἐωνταῦ παιδῶν  
τεσσέρων ἔόντων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμνειν, ἀναγκα-  
ζόμενος δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὡς ταῦτα  
ἔργασατο, οἱ παιδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον.  
Πανιώνιος μὲν τοιν οὗτῳ περιῆλθε ἡ τε τίσις καὶ  
Ἐρμότιμος.

107. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς τὸν παιδας ἐπέτρεψε  
Ἀρτεμισίη ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἔφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδό-  
νιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς  
βουλεταῖ, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖτι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα  
πειρώμενον δμοια. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς  
τοσοῦτο ἀγίνετο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελευσατος  
βασιλέος τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου  
ἀπῆργον ὅπιστα ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς τάχεος  
εἶχε ἔκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευ-  
θῆναι βασιλέi. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἤσαν Ζωστῆρος  
πλέοντες οἱ βύρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γάρ ἄκραι

mine; now if you will bring your household and dwell here, I will make you prosperous in return,"—promising this and that; Panionius accepted his offer gladly, and brought his children and his wife. But Hermotimus, having got the man and all his household in his power, said to him: "Tell me, you that have made a livelihood out of the wickedest trade on earth! what harm had I or any of my fore-fathers done to you, to you or yours, that you made me to be no man, but a thing of nought? ay, you thought that the gods would have no knowledge of your devices of old; but their just law has brought you for your wicked deeds into my hands, and now you shall be well content with the fulness of that justice which I will execute upon you." With these words of reproof, he brought Panionius' sons before him and compelled him to castrate all four of them, his own children; this Panionius was compelled to do; which done, the sons were compelled to castrate their father in turn. Thus was Panionius overtaken by vengeance and by Hermotimus.

107. Having given his sons to Artemisia's charge to be carried to Ephesus, Xerxes called Mardonius to him and bade him choose out whom he would from the army, and make his words good so far as endeavour availed. For that day matters went thus far; in the night, the admirals by the king's command put out to sea from Phalerum and made for the Hellespont again with all speed, to guard the bridges for the king's passage. When the foreigners came near to the "Girdle"<sup>1</sup> in their course, they thought that certain little headlands, which here jut

<sup>1</sup> A promontory on the west coast of Attica, between Piraeus and Sunium.

## HERODOTUS

λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπέρου ταῦτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἐφευγούσης ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες δι τούτης εἶεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

108. Ός δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγίνετο, ὥρωντες οἱ Ἑλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἥλπιζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἔδοκεν τε γαμαχήστειν σφέας παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξισόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκιας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδοκες ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν την γνωτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπεῖδος διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀινδρου, ἃς δὲ τὴν Ἀινδρου ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλέης μέν τυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας πλέειν ἴθεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας· Εὑρυθιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτη γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς εἰ λύσονται τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἀν μέγιστον πάντων σφι κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἀγαγασθείη ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρότο ἀν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἀγειν, ὡς ἀγοντι μέν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρέειν οἴον τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὰ ὅπίστω φανήσεται, λεμῷ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθερέεται, ἐπιχειρέοντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐργοῦν ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἴλι τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλεις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἣτοι ἀλισκομένων γε ἡ πρὸ τούτου ὄμολογεόντων τροφήν τε ἔξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τὸν τὸν Ἑλλήνων καρπὸν. ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ γαμαχίᾳ οὐ μερέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσην ἔστεον ὡς εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐσ δὲ ἔλθοι φεύγων ἐσ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τὸ ἐρθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἥδη τὸν τοῦ

out from the mainland, were ships, and they fled for a long way; but learning at last that they were no ships but headlands they drew together and went on their way.

108. When it was day, the Greeks saw the land army abiding where it had been and supposed the ships also to be at Phalerum; and thinking that there would be a sea-fight they prepared to defend themselves. But when they learnt that the ships were gone, they straightway resolved on pursuit; so they pursued Xerxes' fleet as far as Andros, but had no sight of it; and when they came to Andros they held a council there. Themistocles declared his opinion that they should hold their course through the islands, and having pursued after the ships should sail forthwith to the Hellespont to break the bridges; but Eurybiades offered a contrary opinion, saying that to break the bridges would be the greatest harm that they could do to Hellas. "For," said he, "if the Persian be cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, he will essay not to be inactive, seeing that if he be inactive neither can his cause prosper nor can he find any way of return home, but his army will perish of hunger; but if he be adventurous and busy, it may well be that every town and nation in Europe may join itself to him severally, by conquest or ere that by compact; and he will live on whatsoever yearly fruits of the earth Hellas produces. But, as I think that the Persian will not remain in Europe after his defeat in the sea-fight, let us suffer him to flee, till he come in his flight to his own country; and thereafter let it be that country and not ours that is at stake in the war."

## HERODOTUS

ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντα τῆς γυνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

109. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γάρ μαλιστα ἐκπεφευγότων περιημέκτεον, ὅρμεατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοίσατο) ἔλεγε σφι τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτὸς ἡδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμην καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκνα τοιάδε γενέσθαι, ἀνδρας ἐξ ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας γενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δέ, εὑρημα γάρ εὐρίκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μέφοις τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνιστάμενοι, μὴ Εἴώκαμεν ἀνδρας φείγοντας. τάδε γάρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἄλλὰ θεοί τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἱ ἐφθύνησαν ἄνδρα ἔνα τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι ἔοντα ἀνόσιον τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον διὰ τὰ ίρὰ καὶ τὰ ίδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· διὸ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε. ἀλλ' εὖ γάρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας ἡμέωρι τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆραι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων, καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρους ἀνακῶς ἔχέτω, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βύρβαρον ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἕαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης." ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιῆσασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἵνα ἦρ ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος ἔχῃ ἀποστροφῆν· τά περ ὅν καὶ ἐγένετο.

110. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε,

With that opinion the rest of the Peloponnesian admirals also agreed.

109. When Themistocles perceived that he could not persuade the greater part of them to sail to the Hellespont, he turned to the Athenians (for they were the angriest at the Persians' escape, and they were minded to sail to the Hellespont even by themselves, if the rest would not) and thus addressed them: "This I have often seen with my eyes, and much oftener heard, that beaten men when they be driven to bay will rally and retrieve their former mishap. Wherefore I say to you,—as it is to a fortunate chance that we owe ourselves and Hellas, and have driven away so mighty a cloud of enemies, let us not pursue after men that flee. For it is not we that have won this victory, but the gods and the heroes, who deemed Asia and Europe too great a realm for one man to rule, and that a wicked man and an impious; one that dealt alike with temples and homes, and burnt and overthrew the images of the gods,—yea, that scourged the sea and threw fetters thereinto. But as it is well with us for the nonce, let us abide now in Hellas and take thought for ourselves and our households; let us build our houses again and be diligent in sowing, when we have driven the foreigner wholly away; and when the next spring comes let us set sail for the Hellespont and Ionia." This he said with intent to put somewhat to his credit with the Persian, so that he might have a place of refuge if ever (as might chance) he should suffer aught at the hands of the Athenians; and indeed it did so happen.

110. Thus spoke Themistocles with intent to

## HERODOTUS

‘Αθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γάρ καὶ πρότερον  
δεῖσογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς ἔφαμη ἐὰν ἀληθέως σοφὸς  
τε καὶ εὐθυνδος, πάντως ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι  
πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὗτοι οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν,  
αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἄνδρας ἀπέ-  
πεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖα, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε στγῶν ἐς  
πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετεί-  
λατο βασιλέι φρύσατε τῶν καὶ Σικεινος ὁ οἰκέτης  
αὐτὶς ἐγένετο· οὐ ἐπείτε ἀπίκουτο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττι-  
κήν, οὐ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοιῳ, Σικεινος δὲ  
ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξιν ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἐπειψέ με  
Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Αθη-  
ναῖον ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἀριστος  
καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσοντά τοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης  
ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοι βουλόμενος ὑπουργέειν, ἐσχε  
τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ  
τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν  
κατ’ ἥσυχην πολλὴν κομίζεο.” οὐ μὲν ταῦτα  
σημήναντες ἀπέπλεον ὅπισθ.

111. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες, ἐπείτε σφι ἀπέδοξε μῆτ  
ἐπιβιώκειν ἔτι προσωτέρω τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς  
νέας μῆτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας  
τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἀνδρον περικατέατο ἔξελεις ἐθέ-  
λοντες. πρῶται γάρ Ἀνδριοι ιησιωτέων αἰτη-  
θέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέας χρήματα οὐκ ἔβοσαν,  
ἄλλα προϊσχομένου Θεμιστοκλέος λόγοι τόνδε,  
ὡς ἤκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἐωυτοὺς ἔχοντες δύο  
θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθώ τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖην, οὕτω  
τέ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο  
πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα  
αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαιμονες, αἱ καὶ  
θεῶν χρηστῶν ἤκοιεν εἴδε, ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι

deceive, and the Athenians obeyed him; for since he had ever been esteemed wise and now had shown himself to be both wise and prudent, they were ready to obey whatsoever he said. Having won them over, Themistocles straightway sent men in a boat whom he could trust not to reveal under any question whatsoever the message which he charged them to deliver to the king; of whom one was again his servant Sisimus. When these men came to Attica, the rest abode with the boat, and Sisimus went up to Xerxes: "Themistocles son of Neocles," he said, "who is the Athenian general, and of all the allies the worthiest and wisest, has sent me to tell you this: Themistocles the Athenian has out of his desire to do you a service stayed the Greeks when they would pursue your ships and break the bridges of the Hellespont; and now he bids you go your way, none hindering you." With that message, the men returned in their boat.

III. But the Greeks, now that they were no longer minded to pursue the foreigners' ships farther or sail to the Hellespont and break the way of passage, beleaguered Andros that they might take it. For the men of that place, the first islanders of whom Themistocles demanded money, would not give it; but when Themistocles gave them to understand that the Athenians had come with two great gods to aid them, even Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore the Andrians must assuredly give money, they answered and said, "It is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blest with serviceable gods; as for us Andrians, we are but

## HERODOTUS

γεωπείνας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς  
δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν υῆστον  
ἄλλ' αἱεὶ φιλοχωρίειν, πενίην τε καὶ ἀμηχανίην,  
καὶ τούτων τὸν θεὸν ἐπηβίζοντας ἔόντας Ἀνδρίους  
οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκοτε γάρ τῇς ἑωτῶν  
ἀδυναμίῃς τῷν Ἀθηναῖν δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσων.

112. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ  
οὐ δύοτες τὰ χρήματα ἐποιορκέοντα. Θεμιστο-  
κλέης δέ, οὐ γάρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέρμπων  
ἐς τὰς ἄλλας υῆστους ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους αἴτεε  
χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος  
τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἔχρηστο, λέγων ὡς εἰ  
μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὴν  
τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέοντα ἔξαιρήσει. λέγων  
ταῦτα συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων  
τε καὶ Παρίων, οἵ πινθανόμενοι τῇρ τε Ἀνδρον  
ὡς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμῆδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα  
ὡς εἴη ἐν αἷνῃ μεγίστῃ τῶν στρατηγῶν, δείσατες  
ταῦτα ἐπεμπον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ  
ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν υῆσιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκίω  
δὲ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι δῶνται καὶ οὐ τούτους μούνους.  
καίτοι Καρυστίοισι γε οὐδὲν τούτου εὑνέκα τοῦ  
κακοῦ ὑπερβολή ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα  
χρήμασι ἴλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα.  
Θεμιστοκλέης μέν τυν ἐξ Ἀνδρου ὄρμώμενος  
χρήματα παρὰ υῆσιωτέων ἐκτάτα λάθρη τῶν  
ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

113. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας  
ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην ἔξιλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς  
τὴν αὐτὴν ὄδον. ἔδοξε γάρ Μαρδονίῳ ἡμα μὲν  
προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἡμα δὲ ἀνωρή εἶναι τοῦ  
ἔτεος πολεμέειν, χειμερίσαι τε ἀμεινον εἶναι ἐν

blest with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but are ever fain to dwell there, even Poverty and Impotence; being possessed of these gods, we of Andros will give no money; for the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability."

112. So far thus answering and refusing to give they were besieged. There was no end to Themistocles' avarice; using the same agents whom he had used with the king, he sent threatening messages to the other islands, demanding money, and saying that if they would not give what he asked he would bring the Greek armada upon them and besiege and take their islands. Thereby he collected great sums from the Carians and Parians; for these were informed that Andros was besieged for taking the Persian part, and that Themistocles was of all the generals the most esteemed; which so affrighted them that they sent money; and I suppose that there were other islanders too that gave, and not these alone, but I cannot with certainty say. Nevertheless the Carians got thereby no respite from misfortune; but the Parians propitiated Themistocles with money and so escaped the armament. So Themistocles issued out from Andros and took monies from the islanders, unknown to the other generals.

113. They that were with Xerxes waited for a few days after the sea-fight and then marched away to Boeotia by the road whereby they had come; for Mardonius was minded to give the king safe conduct, and deemed the time of year unseasonable for war; it was better, he thought, to

## HERODOTUS

Θεσσαλίη, καὶ ἐπειτα ἀμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι τὴν Πελοποννήσου. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐε τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγεται πρώτους μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ἱδάρρεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἵππουν τὴν χιλίην, καὶ Μῆδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδούς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππουν. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἶλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὄλίγους, τοῖσι εἰδεῖ τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγοντας καὶ εἰ τεοῖσι τι χρηστὸν συνήδεε πεποιημένον· ἐν δὲ πλείστον τέθνος Πέρσας αἱρέτο, ἀνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ φελιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μῆδους· οὗτοι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμη δὲ ἤστονες. ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἵππεῦσι.

114. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδόνιος τε τὴν στρατιὴν διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθεε ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίουσι, Ξέρξην αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. πέμπουσι δὴ κήρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιῆτα, ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε ἔουσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὅψιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἐλεγε τάδε. “Ο βασιλεῦ Μῆδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τέ σε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αἰτέοισι φόνου δίκας, δτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα.” ὃ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὃς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρε-

winter in Thessaly, and then attack the Peloponneso in the spring. When they were arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius there chose out first all the Persians called Immortals, save only Hydarnes their general, who said that he would not quit the king's person; and next, the Persian cuirassiers, and the thousand horse,<sup>1</sup> and the Medes and Sacae and Bactrians and Indians, alike their footmen and the rest of the horsemen. He chose these nations entire; of the rest of his allies he picked out a few from each people, the goodliest men and those that he knew to have done some good service; but the Persians that he chose (men that wore torques and bracelets)<sup>2</sup> were more in number than those of any other nation, and next to them the Medes; these indeed were as many as the Persians, but not so stout fighters. Thereby the whole number, with the horsemen, grew to three hundred thousand men.

114. Now while Mardonius was making choice of his army and Xerxes was in Thessaly, there came an oracle from Delphi to the Lacedaemonians, that they should demand justice of Xerxes for the slaying of Leonidas, and take what answer he should give them. The Spartans then sent a herald with all speed; who finding the army yet undivided in Thessaly, came into Xerxes' presence and thus spoke: "The Lacedaemonians and the Heracidae of Sparta demand of you, king of the Medes! that you pay the penalty for the death of their king, whom you slew while he defended Hellas." At that Xerxes laughed; and after a long while he

<sup>1</sup> Two regiments of a thousand horse are mentioned in vii. 40 and 55.      <sup>2</sup> sp. vi. 83.

## HERODOTUS

στεών Μαρδόνιος, δεικνύεις ἐς τοῦτον εἰπε "Τοιγάρ  
σφι Μαρδόνιος ὅδε δίκαιος δώσει τοιαύτας οἵας  
ἐκείνοισι πρέπει."

115. "Ο μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαλλάσ-  
σετο, Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ κατα-  
λιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν  
Ἐλλήσποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς  
διαβάσιος ἐν πάντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι,  
ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς εἰπεῖν.  
ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γνοίατο καὶ κατ' οὐστίνας  
ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐσ-  
τέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εἴροιεν, οὐ δὲ τὴν  
ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀμαφυομένην καὶ τῶν  
δενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα  
καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων  
καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἐλειπον οὐδὲν· ταῦτα δὲ  
ἔποιεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν  
στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ' ὅδον ἔφθειρε. τοὺς  
δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσων  
τῆσι πόλισι, ἵνα ἑκάστοτε γύροιστο ἔλαιον, μελε-  
δαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τε τινάς καὶ  
ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. ἔνθα  
καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διός, ὅτε ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἤλαυνε, ἀπιὰν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ  
δόρτες οἱ Παιονεῖς τοῖσι Θρήιξι ἀπαιτέοντος  
Ξέρξεω ἔφασαν νεμομένας ἀρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν  
ἄνω Θρηίκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος  
οἰκημένων.

116. "Ἐνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς  
τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς Θρήιξ ἔργαν ὑπερφυὲς ἔργα-  
σατο· ὃς οὗτε αὐτὸς ἐφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐκῶν εἶναι  
δουλεύστειν, ἀλλ' οἴχετο ἀνω ἐς τὸ ἄρος τὴν

pointed to Mardonius, who chanced to be standing by him, and said, "Then here is Mardonius, who shall pay those you speak of such penalty as befits them."

115. So the herald took that utterance and departed; but Xerxes left Mardonius in Thessaly, and himself journeying with all speed to the Hellespont came in forty-five days to the passage for crossing, bringing back with him as good as none (if one may so say) of his host. Whithersoever and to whatsoever people they came, they seized and devoured its produce; and if they found none, they would take for their eating the grass of the field, and strip the bark and pluck the leaves of the trees, garden and wild alike, leaving nothing; so starved they were for hunger. Moreover a pestilence and a dysentery broke out among them on their way, whereby they died. Some that were sick Xerxes left behind, charging the cities whither he came in his march to care for them and nourish them, some in Thessaly and some in Siris of Paeonia and in Macedonia; in Siris he had left the sacred chariot of Zeus when he was marching to Hellas, but in his return he received it not again; for the Paeonians had given it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes demanded it back they said that the horses had been carried off from pasture by the Thracians of the hills who dwelt about the headwaters of the Strymon.

116. It was then that a monstrous deed was done by the Thracian king of the Bisaltae and the Cretonian country. He had refused to be of his own free will Xerxes' slave, and fled away to the

## HERODOTUS

Τοδόπην, τοῖσι τε παισὶ ἀπιγγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ δὲ ἀλογῆσαίτες, ἡ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἔγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀστρατεύοντα ἄμα τῇ Πέρσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινέες πάντες δὲ λόντες, ἔξωρυξε αὐτῷ ὁ πατήρ τοὺς ὄφθαλμους διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταῦτην.

117. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μασθὸν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης παρενόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῆσιν ηγαντὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἀβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὖρον ἔτι ἐντεαμένας ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειρῶν διαλελυμένας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁσὸν ἐλάγχανον, καὶ οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες ἀπέθυησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιεόντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄμα Ξέρξη ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

118. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὃν ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἔξι Λιθηνέων ἀπίκετο ἐπ' Ἡιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὄδοιπορίησι διεχράτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Τδάρηντι ἐπιτράπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ νεὸς Φαινίσσης ἐπιβὰς ἐκοιζέτο ἐς τὴν Λασίην. πλέοντα δέ μιν ἀγεμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίην. καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον γύρι τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμούσης τῆς γεός, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰρέσθαι βάσαντα τὸν κυθερήτην εἴ τις ἐστὶ σφι σωτηρίη, καὶ τὸν ἐπαι "Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἐστι οὐδεμία, εἴ μὴ τούτου ἀπαλλαγὴ τις γένηται τῷ πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων."

mountains called Rhodope; and he forbade his sons to go with the army to Hellas; but they took no account of that, for they had ever a desire to see the war, and they followed the Persians' march; for which cause, when all the six of them returned back scathless, their father tore out their eyes.

117. This was their reward. But the Persians, journeying through Thrace to the passage, made haste to cross to Abydos in their ships; for they found the bridges no longer made fast but broken by a storm. There their march was stayed, and more food was given them than on their way; and by reason of their immoderate gorging and the change of the water which they drank, many of the army that yet remained died. The rest came with Xerxes to Sardis.

118. But there is another tale, which is this:—When Xerxes came in his march from Athens to Eion on the Strymon, he travelled no farther than that by land, but committed his army to Hydarnes to be led to the Hellespont, and himself embarked and set sail for Asia in a Phoenician ship. In which voyage he was caught by a strong wind called Strymonius, that lifted up the waves. This storm bearing the harder upon him by reason of the heavy lading of the ship (for the Persians of his company that were on the deck were so many), the king was affrighted and cried to the ship's pilot asking him if there were any way of deliverance; whereat the man said, "Sire, there is none, except there be a riddance of these many that are on board." Hearing that, it

## HERODOTUS

καὶ Ξέρξην λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἰπεῖν  
“Αιδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασι-  
λέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οίκε ἄναι ἔμοι η  
σωτηρίη.” τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυ-  
νέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν ρέα  
ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτῳ δὴ ἀποσταθῆναι ἐς τὴν  
Ἀσίην. ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν  
Ξέρξην, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· διτὶ μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος  
τὴν ψυχήν, διωρήσασθαι χρυσέη στεφάνη τὸν  
κυβερνήτην, διτὶ δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε,  
ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

119. Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ  
Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς οὔτε  
ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ  
δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρίθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς  
Ξέρξην, ἐν μυρίησι γυναικῶν μίαν οὐκ ἔχω  
ἀντίξουν μὴ οὐκ ἀν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε,  
τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι  
ἐς κοίλην νέα ἔοντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς  
πρώτους, τῶν δὲ ἔρετέων ἔοντιν Φοινίκων δκως  
οὐκ ἀν ἴσου πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε ἐς  
τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' οὐ μέν, ὡς καὶ προτερόν μοι  
εἴρηται, ὅδῷ χρεώμενος ἀμα τῷ ἀλλῷ στρατῷ  
ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

120. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον φαίνεται  
γάρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς  
Ἀβδηρα καὶ ξειρέην τέ σφι συνθέμενος καὶ  
διωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκῃ τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τιμῷ  
χρυσοπάστῳ. καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγονται Ἀβδηρῖται,  
λέγοντες ἔμοιγε οὐδαμῶς πιστά, πρώτον ἐλύσατο  
τὴν ζώην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὡς ἐν  
ἀδείᾳ ἔων. τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα ἔρυται πρὸς τοῦ

is said, Xerxes said to the Persians, "Now it is for you to prove yourselves careful for your king ; for it seems that my deliverance rests with you" ; whereat they did obeisance and leapt into the sea ; and the ship, being thus lightened, came by these means safe to Asia. No sooner had Xerxes disembarked on land, than he made the pilot a gift of a golden crown for saving the king's life, but cut off his head for being the death of many Persians.

119. This is the other tale of Xerxes' return ; but I for my part believe neither the story of the Persians' fate, nor any other part of it. For if indeed the pilot had spoken to Xerxes as aforesaid, I think that there is not one in ten thousand but would say that the king would have bidden the men on deck (who were Persians and of the best blood of Persia) descend into the ship's hold, and would have taken of the Phoenician rowers a number equal to the number of the Persians and cast them into the sea. Nay, the truth is that Xerxes did as I have already said, and returned to Asia with his army by road.

120. And herein too lies a clear proof of it : it is known that when Xerxes came to Abdera in his return he entered into bonds of friendship with its people, and gave them a golden sword and a gilt tiara ; and as the people of Abdera say (but for my part I wholly disbelieve them), it was here that Xerxes in his flight back from Athens first loosed his girdle,<sup>1</sup> as being here in safety. Now Abdera

<sup>1</sup> cp. perhaps v. 106, where Histiaeus swears to Darius that he will not take off his tonic till he reaches Ionia ; or the reference may be to a man's being *obligatus* (with his 'loins girded up') for swift travel.

## HERODOTUS

Ἐλλησπόντου μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς  
Ηιόνος, δύεν διὰ μὲν φασὶ ἐπιβῆγαι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

121. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ἐπείτε οὐκ οἰοί τε ἔγινοντα  
ἔξελεῖν τὴν Ἀινδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ  
δηιώσαυτες αὐτῶν τὴν χώρην ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς  
Σαλαμῖνα. πρῶτα μὲν τὸν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἔξειλον  
ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοιτίσσας,  
τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἰσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἡ δὲ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς  
ἐμὲ ὥρ, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σαύνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Λιαντὶ<sup>τού</sup> αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδύσαντο  
τὴν ληίην καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς  
Δελφούς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδρὶς ἔχων ἐν τῇ  
χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεός, ἐὼν μέγαθος δυώδεκα  
πηχέων· ἔστηκε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων  
Ἀλεξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος.

122. Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἐλληνες εἰς  
Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ εἰ λελάθηκε  
πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροθίνια. ὃ δὲ παρ'  
Ἐλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρὰ  
Λιγυνητέον δὲ οὐ, ἄλλὰ ὅπαίτερε αὐτοὺς τὰ  
ἀριστήια τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γαυμαχήης. Λιγυνῆται  
δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀτέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσέους, οἱ δὲ  
ἰστοῦ χαλκέου ἔστασι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης,  
ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Κροίσου κρητῆρος.

123. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαιρέσιν τῆς ληίης ἐπλεον  
οἱ Ἐλληνες εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀριστήια διώσοντες  
τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἐλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον  
τοῦτον, ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέγεμον  
τὰς φίλφοις ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν  
πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων,  
ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἐωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον,  
αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἀριστος γενέσθαι, δεύτερα

lies nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eion, where they say that he took ship.

121. As for the Greeks, not being able to take Andros they betook themselves to Carystus, and having laid it waste they returned to Salamis. First of all they set apart for the gods, among other first-fruits, three Phoenician triremes, one to be dedicated at the Isthmus, where it was till my lifetime, the second at Sunium, and the third for Aias at Salamis where they were. After that, they divided the spoil and sent the firstfruits of it to Delphi; whereof was made a man's image twelve cubits high, holding in his hand the figure-head of a ship; this stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian.

122. Having sent the firstfruits to Delphi the Greeks inquired in common of the god, if the first-fruits that he had received were of full measure and if he was content therewith; whereat he said that this was so as touching what he received from all other Greeks, but not from the Aeginetans; of these he demanded the victor's prize for the sea-fight of Salamis. When the Aeginetans learnt that, they dedicated three golden stars that are set on a bronze mast, in the angle, nearest to Croesus' bowl.

123. After the division of the spoil, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, there to award the prize of excellence to him who had shown himself most worthy of it in that war. But when the admirals came and gave their divers votes at the altar of Poseidon, to judge who was first and who second among them, each of them there voted for himself, supposing himself to have done the best service, but the greater part of them united in giving the second

## HERODOTUS

Δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτοι Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες.  
οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμοῦνοῦντο, Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δευτερεῖοισι  
ὑπερεβάλλεται πολλόν.

124. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῷ  
Ἐλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεόντων ἐκάστων  
ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, δμως Θεμιστοκλέης  
ἔβασθη τε καὶ ἔδοξώθη εἶναι ἀγῆρ πολλὸν  
Ἐλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.  
ὅτι δὲ τικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι  
ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακε-  
δαιμονα ἀπίκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ μιν Λακε-  
δαιμόνοις καλῶς μὲν ὑπέδεξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ  
ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήμα μέν νυν ἔδοσταν<sup>1</sup>. . Εὐ-  
ρυθιάδη ἀλαῖης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιό-  
τητος Θεμιστοκλέι καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἀλαῖης·  
ἔδωρήσαντό τέ μιν δχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλι-  
στεύσαντι. αἰνέσπαντες δὲ πολλά, προέπεμψαν  
ἀπίστα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι  
οἵ περ ἵππεες καλέονται, μέχρι οὗρων τῶν Τεγε-  
τικῶν. μοῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀγθρώπων τῶν  
ἥμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν.

125. Ός δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονος ἀπίκετο ἐν ταῖς  
Ἀθήναις, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν  
ἔχθρων μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐών, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ  
τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνει-  
κεε τῷ Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαιμονα ἀπιξιν  
προφέρων, ὃς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ  
παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑωυτόν. ὃ δέ,  
ἴπειτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος,  
εἶπε "Οὕτω ἔχει τοις οὐτ' ἀν ἔγῳ ἐών Βελβιτίης

<sup>1</sup> Stein supposes that something is omitted before Εὐρυ-  
θιάδη, perhaps ἀνθρακαθίης.

place to Themistocles. So they each gained but one vote, but Themistocles far outstripped them in votes for the second place.

124. The Greeks were too jealous to adjudge the prize, and sailed away each to his own place, leaving the matter doubtful; nevertheless, Themistocles was cried up, and all Hellas glorified him for the wisest man by far of the Greeks. But because he had not received from them that fought at Salamis the honour due to his pre-eminence, immediately afterwards he betook himself to Lacedaemon, that he might receive honour there; and the Lacedaemonians made him welcome and paid him high honour. They bestowed on Eurybiades a crown of olive as the reward of excellence, and another such crown on Themistocles for his wisdom and cleverness; and they gave him the finest chariot in Sparta; and with many words of praise, they sent him on his homeward way with the three hundred picked men of Sparta who are called Knights to escort him as far as the borders of Tegea. Themistocles was the only man of whom I have heard to whom the Spartans gave this escort.

125. But when Themistocles returned to Athens from Lacedaemon, Timodemus of Aphidnae, who was one of Themistocles' enemies but a man in no-wise notable, was crazed with envy and spoke bitterly to Themistocles of his visit to Lacedaemon, saying that the honours he had from the Lacedaemonians were paid him for Athens' sake and not for his own. This he would continually be saying; till Themistocles replied, "This is the truth of the matter—had I been of Bellina<sup>1</sup> I had not been thus honoured

<sup>1</sup> An islet S. of Sunium; a typical instance of an unimportant place.

## HERODOTUS

έτιμίθην οὗτος πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὐτ' ἀν σὺ, ἀνθρώπε, εἰὸν Ἀθηναῖος." ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

126. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἐών, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταιῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἐξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέξατο, προεπέμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πάρον. ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὁ δὲ ὥστισα πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγένετο, ἀπέ Μαρδονίου τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην καὶ σύδεν καὶ κατεπίγοντος ἤκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου ἐντυχὼν ἀπεστεῶσι Ποτιδαιῆτης μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδισασθαι σφέας. οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαιῆται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκες καὶ ὁ γαυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμίνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.

127. Ενθαῦτα δὴ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐποιηόρκεε τὴν Ποτιδαιαν. ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπέστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταῦτην ἐποιηόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἴλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδίδοι Κριτοβούλῳ Ταρωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὕτω Ολυνθού Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.

128. Εξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτιδαιῇ ἐντελαμένως προσέιχε προσέχοντι δέ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιανωνίων στρατηγός, ὅντικα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχῆν, ἔγαγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ὡς λέγεται), τέλος

by the Spartans; nor had you, sirrah, for all you are of Athens." Such was the end of that business.

126. Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who was already a notable man among the Persians and grew to be yet more so by the Plataean business, escorted the king as far as the passage with sixty thousand men of the army that Mardonius had chosen. Xerxes being now in Asia, when Artabazus came near Pallene in his return (for Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia and making no haste to come to the rest of his army), he thought it right that he should enslave the people of Potidaea, whom he found in revolt. For the king having marched away past the town and the Persian fleet taken flight from Salamis, Potidaea had openly revolted from the foreigners; and so too had the rest of the people of Pallene.

127. Thereupon Artabazus laid siege to Potidaea; and suspecting that Olynthus too was plotting revolt from the king, he laid siege to it also, the town being held by Bottiaeans who had been driven from the Thermaic gulf by the Macedonians. Having besieged and taken Olynthus, he brought these men to a lake and there cut their throats, and delivered their city over to the charge of Critobulus of Torone and the Chalcidian people; and thus the Chalcidians gained possession of Olynthus.

128. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus was instant in dealing with Potidaea; and his zeal was aided by Timoxenus the general of the Scio-maeans, who agreed to betray the place to him; I know not how the agreement was first made, nothing being told thereof; but the end was as I

## HERODOTUS

μέντοι τοιάδε ἔγίνετο· ὅκως θυρβλίον γράψει ἡ Τιμόξεινος ἐθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι ἡ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας περιειλέξαντες καὶ πτερώσαντες τὸ θυρβλίον ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἐπάιστος δὲ ἔγένετο ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδίδοντες τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· ταξεύων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτίδαιῆτεω τὸν ὄμορφον, τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὄμιλος, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, οἱ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ θυρβλίον, ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμαχίην. τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῖσι ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ θυρβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς προδοσίης ἔδοξε μὴ καταπλῆξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίη τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἶνεκα, μὴ νόμιζοί ατο εἶναι Σκιωναῖοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρονον *alel* προδόται.

129. "Ο μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπάιστος ἔγεγόνεε Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέουσι ἐγεγόνεσσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἀμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνος ἐπὶ πολλόν. ιδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γειόμενον παρίμσαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην. ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διεδοιπορίκεσσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διεδύντας χρῆν εἶναι ἐσω ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρὶς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὃση οὐδαμά κω, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γνωμένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ τέσσειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθεί-

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<sup>1</sup> Probably points on each side of the notch (where the arrow lies on the string) to give the fingers better grip.

will now show. Whenever Timoxenus wrote a letter for sending to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, they would wrap it round the shaft of an arrow at the notches<sup>1</sup> and put feathers to the letter, and shoot it to a place whereon they had agreed. But Timoxenus' plot to betray Potidaea was discovered; for Artabazus in shooting an arrow to the place agreed upon, missed it and hit the shoulder of a man of Potidaea; and a throng gathering quickly round the man when he was struck (which is a thing that ever happens in war), they straightway took the arrow and found the letter and carried it to their generals, the rest of their allies of Pallene being also there present. The generals read the letter and perceived who was the traitor, but they resolved for Scione's sake that they would not smite Timoxenus to the earth with a charge of treason, lest so the people of Scione should ever after be called traitors.

129. Thus was Timoxenus' treachery brought to light. But when Artabazus had besieged Potidaea for three months, there was a great ebb-tide in the sea, lasting for a long while, and when the foreigners saw that the sea was turned to a marsh they made to pass over it into Pallene. But when they had made their way over two fifths of it and three yet remained to cross ere they could be in Pallene, there came a great flood-tide, higher, as the people of the place say, than any one of the many that had been before; and some of them that knew not how

"The parchment was rolled round the butt end of the arrow and then feathers put over it to hide it" (How and Wells).

## HERODOTUS

ρουτο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτιδαιῆται ἐπιπλάσαντες πλοίοις ἀπώλεσαν. αἵτιον δὲ λέγονται Ποτιδαιῆται τὴν τε ρηχίης καὶ τὴν πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τάδε, διὰ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐν τῷ νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστεῖῳ ἡσέβησαν οὗτοι τῷ Περσέων οἵ περ καὶ διεφθύρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἵτιον δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες εὖ λέγειν ἔμοιγε δοκέουσι. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐν Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδάνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἐπρηξαν.

130. Ὁ δὲ γαντικὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγενόμενος ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμίνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμενος ἐν Ἀβυδον, ἔχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμη. ἕαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος πρωισ συνελέγετο ἐν Σάμον· αἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἔχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μῆδων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐπεβάτενον. στρατηγοὶ δέ σφι ἐπῆλθον Μαρδάντης τε ὁ Βαγαίον καὶ Ἀρταθύτης ὁ Ἀρταχαίεω· συνῆρχε δὲ ταύταις καὶ ἀδελφισέος αὐτοῦ Ἀρταθύτεω προσελομένου Ἰθαμίτρικ. ἀτε δὲ μεγάλοις πληγέντες, οὐ προήισαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης, οὐδὲ ἐπηγάγκαζε οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι ἐφίλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῆ, μέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇσι Ἰωσὶ τριγκοσίας. οὐ μέν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντα τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφι τὴν ἀνωτάνω φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι διὰ σφέας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμίνος ἀλλ' ἀσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μὲν τυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδάκεν πολλῷ κρατήσειν

to swim were drowned, and those that knew were slain by the Potidaeans, who came among them in boats. The Potidaeans say that the cause of the high sea and flood and the Persian disaster lay herein, that those same Persians who now perished in the sea had profaned the temple and the image of Poseidon that was in the suburb of the city ; and I think that in saying that this was the cause they say rightly. They that escaped alive were led away by Artabazos to Mardonius in Thessaly. Thus fared these men, who had been the king's escort.

130. All that was left of Xerxes' fleet, having in its flight from Salamis touched the coast of Asia and ferried the king and his army over from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyme. Then early in the first dawn of spring they mustered at Samos, where some of the ships had wintered ; the most of their fighting men were Persians and Medes. Mardonius son of Ragaetus and Artaÿntes son of Artachaeus came to be their admirals, and Artaÿntes chose also his own nephew Ithamitres to have a share in the command. But by reason of the heavy blow dealt them they went no further out to sea westwards, nor was any man instant that they should so do, but they lay off Samos keeping watch against a revolt in Ionia, the whole number of their ships, Ionian and other, being three hundred ; nor in truth did they expect that the Greeks would come to Ionia, but rather that they would be content to guard their own country ; thus they inferred, because the Greeks had not pursued them when they fled from Salamis, but had been glad to be quit of them. In regard to the sea, the Persians were at heart beaten men, but they supposed that

## HERODOTUS

τὸν Μαρδόνιον. ἔόντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ἄμα μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ τι δυναίσθαι κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιέειν, ἄμα δὲ καὶ ὡτακούστεον δκγ τεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.

131. Τοῦδε δὲ Ἐλλῆνας τό τε ἕαρ γιγράμενον ἥγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἴων. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὐκον συνελέγετο, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἀπίκετο ἐς Λίγυραν, νέες ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν. στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναυαρχὸς ἦν Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μεγάρεος τοῦ Ἡγησίδεω τοῦ Ἰπποκρατίδεω τοῦ Δευτυχίδεω τοῦ Ἀναξίδεω τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικιάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλεω τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεω τοῦ Πρυτάρων τοῦ Εύρυφῶντος τοῦ Προκλέος τοῦ Ἀρισταβήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοβαίου τοῦ Ἄγλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἐὼν τῆς ἑτέρης οἰκίης τῶν βασιλέων. οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδεων πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης. Λθηραίων δὲ ἐστρατήγες Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος.

132. Ως δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Λίγυραν πᾶσαι αἱ νέες, ἀπίκοντο Ἰάνων ἅγγελοι ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἵ καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιληίδεως ἦν οἵ σπασιῶται σφίσι τυενόμενοι ἐπειθούλευνον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Λίου τυράννῳ. ἔόντες ἀρχὴν ἐπτά<sup>1</sup> ἐπιθουλεύοντες δὲ ὡς φανεροὶ ἐγένοντα, ἐξενέκαστος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐνὸς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> The first royal house was the line of Agis, from whom Leonidas was descended (vii. 24). The second was the line of Eurypion. In the present list "the first king among the

on land Mardonius would easily prevail. So they were at Samos, and there planned to do what harm they could to their enemies, and to listen the while for tidings of how it went with Mardonius.

131. But as for the Greeks, the coming of spring and Mardonius' being in Thessaly moved them to action. They had not yet begun the mustering of their army, but their fleet, an hundred and ten ships, came to Aegina; and their general and admiral was Leutychides son of Menares, tracing his lineage from son to father through Hegesilaus, Hippocratides, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidemus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Neandrus, Charilaus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanis, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristonachus, Cleodaeus, to Hyllus who was the son of Heracles; he was of the second royal house.<sup>1</sup> All the aforesaid had been kings of Sparta, save the seven named first after Leutychides. The general of the Athenians was Xanthippus son of Ariphron.

132. When all the ships were arrived at Aegina, there came to the Greek quarters messengers from the Ionians, the same who a little while before that had gone to Sparta and entreated the Lacedaemonians to free Ionia; of whom one was Herodotus the son of Basileides.<sup>2</sup> These, who at first were seven, made a faction and conspired to slay Strattis, the despot of Chios; but when their conspiracy became known, one of the accomplices

ancestors of Leutychides is Theopompus, the seven more immediate ancestors of L. belonging to a younger branch, which gained the throne by the deposition of Demaratus" (How and Wells).

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise unknown.

## HERODOTUS

μετεχόντων, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἔξι εώντες ὑπεξεσχον ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκουντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Λίγυαν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι καταπλῶσαι ἐκ τὴν Ἰωνίην<sup>1</sup> σὲ προΐγαγον αὐτοὺς μόγις μέχρι Δῆλου. τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρῳ πᾶν δεῖνον ἦν τοῖσι "Ἐλλησι" οὔτε τῶν χώρων ἰδούσι ἐμπείροισι, στρατῖος τε πάντα πλέα ἰδόκεε εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστέατο δύξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στῆλας ἴσον ἀπέχειν, συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀγωτέρῳ Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι καταρρωδηκότας, τοὺς δὲ "Ἐλληνας" χρηιζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἥω κατωτέρῳ Δῆλον<sup>1</sup> οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφέων.

133. Οἱ μὲν δὴ "Ἐλληνες" πλεον ἐς τὴν Δῆλον, Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἔχειμαζε. ἐγθεῦτεν δὲ ὄρμώμενος ἐπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εύρωπέα γένος, τῷ οἴνομα ἦν Μῆν, ἐντελλίμενος πανταχῷ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἵτε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὅ τι μὲν θουλόμενος ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὡν λέγεται· δοκέω δὲ ἔγωγε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι.

134. Οὗτος ὁ Μῆν ἐς τε Λεβάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς "Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριαν" καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θῆρας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ "Ισμηνίῳ" Ἀπύλλωνι ἔχρισπτο· ἔστι δὲ κατά περ

<sup>1</sup> "As far off as the Straits of Gibraltar"—a figure of distance.

having revealed their enterprise, the six that remained got them privily out of Chios, whence they went to Sparta and now to Aegina, entreating the Greeks to sail to Ionia. The Greeks brought them as far as Delos, and that not readily; for they feared all that lay beyond, having no knowledge of those parts, and thinking that armed men were everywhere; and they supposed that Samos was no nearer to them than the Pillars of Hercules.<sup>1</sup> So it fell out that the foreigners were too disheartened to dare to sail farther west than Samos, while at the same time the Greeks dared go at the Chians' request no farther east than Delos; thus fear kept the middle space between them.

133. The Greeks, then, sailed to Delos, and Mardonius wintered in Thessaly. Having here his headquarters he sent thence a man of Eupotis called Mys to visit the places of divination, charging him to inquire of all the oracles whereof he could make trial. What it was that he desired to learn from the oracles when he gave this charge, I cannot say, for none tells of it; but I suppose that he sent to inquire concerning his present business, and that alone.

134. This man Mys is known to have gone to Lebadea and to have bribed a man of the country to go down into the cave of Trophonius,<sup>2</sup> and to have gone to the place of divination at Abae in Phocis; to Thebes too he first went, where he inquired of Ismenian Apollo (sacrifice is there the

<sup>1</sup> See How and Wells *ad loc.* for a full description of the method of consulting this subterranean deity; also on Amphiarus and "Ptoon" Apollo. All these shrines are in Boeotia, the home of early Greek superstitions.

## HERODOTUS

ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἴροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ξεῖνοι τινὰ καὶ οὐ Θῆβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίρησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Θῆβαιων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαρτεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τόδε· ἐκέλευσε σφέας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος ἀκότερα βούλονται ἐλέσθαι τούτων, ἐωυτῷ η ἀτε μάρτι χρᾶσθαι η ἄτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχον μιν εἰλοντα εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θῆβαιων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι.

135. Τότε δὲ θῶμα μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θῆβαιων ἐλθεῖν ἀρα τὸν Εὔρωπέα Μῆν, περιστροφώμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτώσου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἴρον καλέεται μὲν Πτώσοι, ἔστι δὲ Θῆβαιων, κεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς ὅρεῖς ἀγχοτάτῳ Ἀκραιφίης πόλιος. ἐε τοῦτο τὸ ἴρον ἐπείτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῆν, ἐπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἵρετοις ἀνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινῶν ἡς ἀπογραψομένους τὰ θεαπισεῖν ἔμελλε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρον γλώσσῃ χρᾶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θῆβαιων ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρους γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλαδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν δὲ τι χρήσωνται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὔρωπέα Μῆν ἔκαρπάσαντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν, φάναι δὲ Καρίη μιν γλώσσῃ χρᾶν, συγγραψάμενον δὲ οἴχεσθαι ἀπιώντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

136. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεμψε ἀγγελον ἐς

way of divination, even as at Olympia), and moreover bribed one that was no Theban but a stranger to lie down to sleep in the shrine of Amphiaraus. No Theban may seek a prophecy there; for Amphiaraus bade them by an oracle to choose which of the two they would and forgo the other, and take him either for their prophet or for their ally; and they chose that he should be their ally; wherefore no Theban may lay him down to sleep in that place.

135. But at this time there happened, as the Thebans say, a thing at which I marvel greatly. It would seem that this man Mys of Europeus came in his wanderings among the places of divination to the precinct of Ptoon Apollo. This temple is called Ptoon,<sup>1</sup> and belongs to the Thebans; it lies by a hill, above the lake Copais, very near to the town Aeræphia. When the man called Mys entered into this temple, three men of the town following him that were chosen on the state's behalf to write down the oracles that should be given, straightway the diviner prophesied in a foreign tongue. The Thebans that followed him stood astonished to hear a strange language instead of Greek, and knew not what this present matter might be; but Mys of Europeus snatched from them the tablet that they carried and wrote on it that which was spoken by the prophet, saying that the words of the oracle were Carian; and having written all down he went away back to Thessaly.

136. Mardonius read whatever was said in the oracles; and presently he sent a messenger to Athens,

<sup>1</sup> Called after Ptoon, son of Athamas, according to Apollodorus. The story of Athamas, and his plot with Ino their stepmother against his children's lives, was localised in Boeotia as well as Achaea, *op. vii.* 197.

HERODOTUS

'Αθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἡμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἥσαν· Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἐσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔγεγόνεε 'Αμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλεος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβαρδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι πῦρ δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξειτο τε εἶη καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεμπε· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὗτοι ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτήσεσθαι, λεών τε πολλῷ ἄρα ἀκούων εἴναι καὶ ἀλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο, τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων κατῆλπιζε εὐπετέως τῇ θαλάσσῃς κρατήσειν, τά περ ἀν καὶ ἦν, πεζῇ τε ἐδόκεε πολλῷ εἴναι κρέσσων, οὗτοι τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθέ οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι τῷρ 'Ελληνικῶν. τάχα δ' ἀν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτα οἱ προδέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμμαχον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ποιέοσθαι τοῖσι δὴ πειθόμενος ἐπεμπε.

137. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἑβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρύπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξ Ἀργεος ἐφιγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημένου ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, Γανάγης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην ἀπίκεντο ἐς Λεβαΐην πόλιν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ

<sup>2</sup> Alabanda was not in Phrygia but in Cariæ (cp. vii. 195); Stein prefers to read Alabætra, a town which Herodotus, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, places in Phrygia.

Alexander, a Macedonian, son of Amyntas; him he sent, partly because the Persians were akin to him; for Bulares, a Persian, had taken to wife Gygaen Alexander's sister and Amyntas' daughter, who had borne to him that Amyntas of Asia who was called by the name of his mother's father, and to whom the king gave Alabanda<sup>1</sup> a great city in Phrygia for his dwelling; and partly he sent him because he learnt that Alexander was a protector and benefactor to the Athenians. It was thus that he supposed he could best gain the Athenians for his allies, of whom he heard that they were a numerous and valiant people, and knew that they had been the chief authors of the calamities which had beset the Persians at sea. If he gained their friendship he looked to be easily master of the seas, as truly he would have been; and on land he supposed himself to be by much the stronger; so he reckoned that thus he would have the upper hand of the Greeks. Peradventure this was the prediction of the oracles, counselling him to make the Athenian his ally, and it was in obedience to this that he sent his messenger.

137. This Alexander was seventh in descent from Perdiccas, who got for himself the despotism of Macedonia in the way that I will show. Three brothers of the lineage of Temenus came as banished men from Argos<sup>2</sup> to Illyria, Gauanes and Aeropus and Perdiccas; and from Illyria they crossed over into the highlands of Macedonia till they came to the town Lebaea. There they served for wages as

<sup>1</sup> The story of an Argive origin of the Macedonian dynasty appears to be mythical. It rests probably on the similarity of the name Argaeae, the tribe to which the dynasty belonged.

HERODOTUS

εθήτενον ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλέι, ὁ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὁ δὲ βοῦς, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέος αὐτὴ τὰ σιτια σφι ἔπεσσε· ἥσαν γάρ τὸ πιλαι καὶ αἱ τυρανίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέετ χρῆμασι, οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος ὅκως δὲ ὄπτῳ, ὁ ἀρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητὸς Περδίκκεω διπλῆσιος ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς ἴωτοῦ. ἐπει ὅτε αἰεὶ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἴπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐσῆλθε αὐτίκα ὡς εἴη τέρας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θητας προσηγόρευεν σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἰωτοῦ. οὐ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες αὐτῷ ἔξιένται. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἦν γάρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἴπε θεοβλαβῆς γενόμενος "Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἀξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι," δέξας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Γανάνης τε καὶ οἱ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐσταπαν ἐκπεπληρυμένοι, ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτόγχαρε γάρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἴπας τάδε "Δεκάμεθα ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ δίδοις," περιγράφει τὴν μαχαίρη ἐς τὰ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον, περιγράψας δέ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρίτη ἀρνσάμενος τοῦ ἥλιου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου.

138. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπῆισαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλέι σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἵον τι χρῆμα ποιήσει ὁ παῖς καὶ ὡς σὺν οὐφ κείνων ὁ γεώτατος λύβοι τὰ διδόμενα. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὥξινθεις πέμπει ἐπ' οὐτοὺς ἵππέας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν

thralls in the king's household, one tending horses and another oxen, and Perdiccas, who was the youngest, the lesser flocks. Now the king's wife cooked their food for them; for in old times the ruling houses among men, and not the commonalty alone, were lacking in wealth; and whenever she baked bread, the loaf of the thrall Perdiccas grew double in bigness. Seeing that this ever happened, she told her husband; and it seemed to him when he heard it that this was a portent, signifying some great matter. So he sent for his thralls and bade them depart out of his territory. They said it was but just that they should have their wages ere they departed; whereupon the king, when they spoke of wages, was moved to foolishness, and said, "That is the wage you merit, and it is that I give you," pointing to the sunlight that shone down the smoke-vent into the house. Gauanes and Aeropus, who were the elder, stood astonished when they heard that; but the boy said, "We accept what you give, O king," and with that he took a knife that he had upon him and drew a line with it on the floor of the house round the sunlight<sup>1</sup>; which done, he thrice gathered up the sunlight into the fold of his garment, and went his way with his companions.

138. So they departed; but one of them that sat by declared to the king what this was that the boy had done, and how it was of set purpose that the youngest of them had accepted the gift offered; which when the king heard, he was angered, and sent riders after them to slay them. But there is in that land a river, whereto the descendants from

<sup>1</sup> The action is said to symbolise claiming possession of house and land, and also to call the sun to witness the claim. Ancient Germany, apparently, had a similar custom.

## HERODOTUS

αὐδρῶν ἀπ' Ἀργεος ἀπάγονοι σωτῆρις οὗτος,  
ἐπείτε διέβησαν οἱ Τυμενίδαι, μέγας οὖτως ἐρρῦν  
ῶστε τοὺς ἴππεας μὴ οἶους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι.  
οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἔν αἰλλῃ γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης  
οἰκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων ἔιναι  
Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίεω, ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα  
ῥόδαι, ἐν ἔκαστον ἔχον ἔξηκπιτα φύλλα, ὡδμῇ τε  
ὑπερφέροντα τῷρ ἄλλῳ. ἐν τούτοισι καὶ ἡ Σιλη-  
νὸς τοῖσι κήποισι ἥλιος, ὃς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδο-  
νῶν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων δρος κέεται Βέρμιον  
οὖγον, ἀβατος ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὄρ-  
μόμενοι, ὡς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντα καὶ τὴν  
ἄλλην Μακεδονίην.

139. Ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεω<sup>1</sup> Αλέξανδρος  
ώδε ἐγένετο· Ἄμυντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος,  
Ἄμυντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω, Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν  
Ἀέροπος, τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος. Φίλιππου δὲ Ἀργαῖος,  
τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν.

140. Ἐγεγόνεε μὲν δὴ ὡδε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ  
Ἄμυντεως ἡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπο-  
πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, ἐλεγε τάδε. “Ἄνδρες  
Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάξει λέγεται. ἐμοὶ ἀγγελή  
ἴκει παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὗτος. Ἀθηναῖοι τι  
τὰς ἀμαρτάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένας  
πάσσας μετίημι. νῦν τε ὡδε Μαρδόνιος ποίεε·  
τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδοται, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλῃ  
πρὸς ταύτην ἐλεσθων αὐτοῖς, ιητινα ἀν ἐθέλωσι,  
ἴορτεν αὐτόνομοι· ἵρα τε πάντα σφι, ἦν δὴ βού-

<sup>1</sup> This was the fertile and beautiful valley in which stood Aegae or Edessa (moder Vodena), the ancient home of the Macedonian kings.

Argos of these men offer sacrifice, as their deliverer; this river, when the sons of Temenus had crossed it, rose in such flood that the riders could not cross. So the brothers came to another part of Macedonia and settled near the place called the garden of Midas son of Gordias,<sup>1</sup> wherein roses grow of themselves, each bearing sixty blossoms and of surpassing fragrance; in which garden, by the Macedonian story, Silenus<sup>2</sup> was taken captive; above it rises the mountain called Hermius, which none can ascend for the wintry cold. Thence they issued forth when they had won that country, and presently subdued also the rest of Macedonia.

139. From that Perdiccas Alexander was descended, being the son of Amyntas, who was the son of Aleetes; Aleetes' father was Aeropus, and his was Philippus; Philippus' father was Argaeus, and his again was Perdiccas, who won that lordship.

140. Such was the lineage of Alexander son of Amyntas; who, when he came to Athens from Mardonius who had sent him, spoke on this wise. "This, Athenians, is what Mardonius says to you:—There is a message come to me from the king, saying, 'I forgive the Athenians all the offences which they have committed against me; and now, Mardonius, I bid you do this:—Give them back their territory, and let them choose more for themselves besides, wheresoever they will, and dwell under their own laws; and rebuild all their temples

<sup>1</sup> This is a Phrygian tale, transferred to Macedonia. Silenus was a "nature-deity," inhabiting places of rich vegetation; if captured, he was fabled in the Greek version of the myth to give wise counsel to his captor. One may compare the story of Proteus captured by Menelaus, in the Odysey.

## HERODOTUS

λεωνταὶ γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον, δσα ἔγῳ  
 ἐνέπρησα.' τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαῖος ἔχει  
 μοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, ήν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἰτιον  
 γένηται. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαίνεοθε  
 πόλεμον βασιλέι ἀειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἀν ὑπερ-  
 βάλοισθε οὔτε οἷοι τε ἔστε ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα  
 χρόνον. εἰδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλα-  
 σίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πινθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ  
 τὴν νῦν παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐοῦσαν δύναμιν ὥστε καὶ ήν  
 ὑμέας ὑπερβάλησθε καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν  
 οὐδεμία ἀητὶς εἴ περ εὖ φρονέετε, ἀλλῃ παρέσται  
 πολλαπλησίη. μηδ ὡν βαύλεσθε παριστούμενοι  
 βασιλέι στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρης, θέειν δὲ αἱεὶ  
 περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε· παρέχει  
 δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι. βασιλέος  
 ταῦτη ὄρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ὑμῖν ὁμαιχ-  
 μίην σινθέμενοι ἀνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρ-  
 δόνιος μὲν ταῦτα ὡ 'Αθηναῖοι ἐνετεῖλατό μοι  
 εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας. ἔγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐροίης τῆς  
 πρὸς ὑμέας ἐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἀν  
 νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε, προσχρήζω δὲ ὑμέων  
 πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίφ. ἐνορῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἶοισί<sup>1</sup>  
 τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμέειν Ξέρξη-  
 εί γὰρ ἐνώρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἀν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας  
 ἥλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε· καὶ γὰρ ἐόντας ὑπὲρ  
 ἀνθρωπον ἡ βασιλέος ἔστι καὶ χείρ ὑπερμήκη.  
 ἦν ὡν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε, μεγάλα προτεινόν-  
 των ἐπ' οἷσι ὁμολογέειν ἐθέλουστι, δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ  
 ὑμέων ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμ-  
 μάχων πάντων αἱεὶ τε φθειρομένων μούρων, ἐξαι-  
 ρετον μεταίχμιον τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένων. ἀλλὰ

that I burnt, if they will make a covenant with me." This being the message, needs must that I obey it (says Mardonius), unless you take it upon you to hinder me. And this I say to you:—Why are you so mad as to wage war against the king? you cannot overcome him, nor can you resist him for ever. For the multitude of Xerxes' host, and what they did, you have seen, and you have heard of the power that I now have with me; so that even if you overcome and conquer us (whereof, if you be in your right minds, you can have no hope), yet there will come another host many times as great as this. Be not then minded to match yourselves against the king, and thereby lose your land and ever be yourselves in jeopardy, but make peace; which you can most honourably do, the king being that way inclined; keep your freedom, and agree to be our brothers in arms in all faith and honesty.—This, Athenians, is the message which Mardonius charges me to give you. For my own part I will say nothing of the goodwill that I have towards you, for it would not be the first that you have learnt of that; but I entreat you to follow Mardonius' counsel. Well I see that you will not have power to wage war against Xerxes for ever; did I see such power in you, I had never come to you with such language as this; for the king's might is greater than human, and his arm is long. If therefore you will not straightway agree with them, when the conditions which they offer you, whereon they are ready to agree, are so great, I fear what may befall you; for of all the allies you dwell most in the very path of the war, and you alone will never escape destruction, your country being marked out for a battlefield. Nay, follow his counsel;

## HERODOTUS

πείθεσθε πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεύς γε ὁ μέγας μούνοισι ὑμῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπιεὶς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι."

141. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πιθόμενοι ἦκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθῆνας ἐξ ὄμολογίην ἄξοντα τῷ Βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὡς σφεας χρεόν ἔστι ἂμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὄμολογίσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναίους, αὐτίκα τέ σφι ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἄγγελους. καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὄμοῦ σφεων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν ἐπανέμεναν γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διατριβούντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι δτὶ ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι ἤκοντα παρὰ τοῦ Βαρβάρου ἄγγελον ἐπ' ὄμολογίῃ, πιθόμενοι τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἄγγελους. ἐπίτηδες ὧν ἐποιεῦν, ἐνβεικνύμενοι τρῖτι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἐισιτῶν γνώμην.

142. Ός δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι "Ἡμέας δὲ ἐπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεισομένους ὑμέων μήτε νεώτερον ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Βαρβάρου. οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἤκιστα πολλῶν εἴνεκα. ἡγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἡμέων θουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆθεν ὁ ἀγῶν ἐγένετο, νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης

for it is not to be lightly regarded by you that you are the only men in Hellas whose offences the great king is ready to forgive and whose friend he would be."

141. Thus spoke Alexander. But the Lacedaemonians had heard that Alexander was come to Athens to bring the Athenians to an agreement with the foreigner; and remembering the oracles, how that they themselves with the rest of the Dorians must be driven out of the Peloponnesus by the Medes and the Athenians, they were greatly afraid lest the Athenians should agree with the Persian, and they straightway resolved that they would send envoys. Moreover it so fell out for both, that they made their entry at one and the same time; for the Athenians delayed, and tarried for them, being well assured that the Lacedaemonians were like to hear that the messenger was come from the Persians for an agreement; and they had heard that the Lacedaemonians would send their envoys with all speed; therefore it was of set purpose that they did it, that they might make their will known to the Lacedaemonians.

142. So when Alexander had made an end of speaking, the envoys from Sparta took up the tale, and said, "We on our part are sent by the Lacedaemonians to entreat you to do nought hurtful to Hellas and accept no offer from the foreigner. That were a thing unjust and dishonourable for any Greek, but for you most of all, on many counts; it was you who stirred up this war, by no desire of ours, and your territory was first the stake of that battle, wherein all Hellas is now engaged; and setting that apart, it is a thing not to be borne that not all this alone but slavery too should be brought

## HERODOTUS

τοῖσι "Ελλῆσι Ἀθηναίους οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν,  
οἵτινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευ-  
θερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεζευμένοισι μέντοι ὑμῖν  
συναχθόμεθα, καὶ δὴτι καρπῶν ἐστερῆθητε διξῶν  
ἴδη καὶ δὴτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ίδην πολλόν.  
ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμ-  
μαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναικάς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς  
πόλεμον ἔχρηστα οἰκετέων ἔχόμενα πάντα ἐπι-  
θρέψειν, ἐστ' ἀν ὁ πόλεμος ὃδε συνεστήκῃ. μηδὲ  
ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λείρας  
τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον. τούτῳ μὲν γάρ ταῦτα  
ποιητέα ἐστὶν τύραννος γάρ ἐών τυράννῳ συγ-  
κατεργάζεται ὑμῖν δὲ οὐ ποιητέα, εἴ περ εἰν  
τιγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς βαρβά-  
ροισι ἐστὶν οὕτε πιστὸν οὕτε ἀληθές οὐδέν." ταῦτα  
ἔλεξεν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

143. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπε-  
κρίναντο τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο γε ἐπιστάμεθα  
δὴτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῷ Μῆδῳ δύναμις ἢ περ  
ἡμῖν. ὅστε οὐδὲν δέει τοῦτο γε διειδίζειν. ἀλλ'  
ὅμως ἐλευθερίης γλυκύμενοι ἀμυνεύμεθα οὕτω  
ἄκων ἀν καὶ Συνώμεθα. ὅμολογῆσαι δὲ τῷ βαρ-  
βάρῳ μήτε σὺ ὑμέας πειρῶ ἀναπείθειν οὕτε ὑμεῖς  
πεισύμεθα. οὖν τε ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ ὡς  
Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες, ἐστ' ἀν ὁ ἥδιος τὴν πόλην ὄδον  
ἴη τῇ περ καὶ τὸν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὄμολογῆσειν  
ὑμέας Ξέρξῃ ἀλλὰ θεοῖσι τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοι  
μιν ἐπέξιμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἡρωσι, τῶν  
ἐκείνος οὐδεμίαν δπιν ἔχων ἐνέπρησε τούς τε  
οἰκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ  
λόγους ἔχων τοιούσδε μὴ ἐπιφαίνεο Ἀθηναῖοισι,  
μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑπουργέειν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν

upon the Greeks by you Athenians, who have ever of old been known for givers of freedom to many. Nevertheless we grieve with you in your afflictions, for that now you have lost two harvests and your substance has been for a long time wasted; in requital wherefor the Lacedaemonians and their allies declare that they will nourish your women and all of your households that are unserviceable for war, so long as this war shall last. But let not Alexander the Macedonian win you with his smooth-tongued praise of Mardonius' counsel. It is his business to follow that counsel, for as he is a despot so must he be the despot's fellow-worker; but it is not your business, if you be men rightly minded; for you know, that in foreigners there is no faith nor truth." Thus spoke the envoys.

143. But to Alexander the Athenians thus replied: "We know of ourselves that the power of the Mede is many times greater than ours; there is no need to taunt us with that. Nevertheless in our zeal for freedom we will defend ourselves to the best of our ability. But as touching agreements with the foreigner, do not you essay to persuade us thereto, nor will we consent; and now carry this answer back to Mardonius from the Athenians, that as long as the sun holds the course whereby he now goes, we will make no agreement with Xerxes; but we will fight against him without ceasing, trusting in the aid of the gods and the heroes whom he has set at nought and burnt their houses and their adornments. To you we say, come no more to Athenians with such a plea, nor under the semblance of rendering us a service counsel us to do wickedly;

## HERODOTUS

παραίνετε οὐ γάρ σε βούλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἔοντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλοιο."

144. Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. "Τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ὄμολογῆσσιν τῷ Βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπίους ἢντις ἀτάρ αἰσχρῶς γε οἴκατε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα ἀρρωδῆσαι, διτὶ οὖτε χρυσός ἐστι γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὗτε χώρη καλλεῖ καὶ ἀρετὴ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἔθελοιμεν ἀν μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πολλά τε γάρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν μηδὲ ἢν ἔθελοιμεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαῖος ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέρηστα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὄμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ, αὐτὶς δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν δῆμαριν τε καὶ ὄμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἴδρυματά τε κοιτὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἥθει τε ὄμιτροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἀν εὖ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθέ τε οὗτω, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἕστ' ἀν καὶ εἰς περιῆ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὄμολογῆσοντας ἡμέας Ξέρξην ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμενα τὴν προνοίην τὴν πρὸς ἡμέας ἔσυσαν, διτὶ προεῖδετε ἡμέων οἰκοφθορημένων οὗτω ὥστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἔθελειν ἡμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν η̄ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ἡμεῖς μέντοι λιπαρήσομεν οὗτω ὅκας ἀν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὡς οὗτω ἔχοντων, στρατιὴν ἡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε. ὡς γάρ ἡμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἵκας χρόνου παρέσται ὁ Βάρβαρος

for we would not that you who are our friend and protector should suffer any harm at Athenian hands."

144. Such was their answer to Alexander; but to the Spartan envoys they said, "It was most human that the Lacedaemonians should fear our making an agreement with the foreigner; but we think you do basely to be afraid, knowing the Athenian temper to be such that there is nowhere on earth such store of gold or such territory of surpassing fairness and excellence that the gift of it should win us to take the Persian part and enslave Hellas. For there are many great reasons why we should not do this, even if we so desired; first and chiefest, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the uttermost rather than make covenants with the doer of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life, to all which it would ill beseem Athenians to be false. Know this now, if you knew it not before, that as long as one Athenian is left alive we will make no agreement with Xerxes. Nevertheless we thank you for your forethought concerning us, in that you have so provided for our wasted state that you offer to nourish our households. For your part, you have given us full measure of kindness; yet for ourselves, we will make shift to endure as best we may, and not be burdensome to you. But now, seeing that this is so, send your army with all speed; for as we guess, the foreigner

## HERODOTUS

έσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴν ταχιστα  
πόθηται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τὸν  
ἐκεῖνος ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν δὲ παρείναι  
ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἡμέας καιρὸς ἔστι προ-  
βοηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ὑπο-  
κριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντα ἐς Σπάρτην.

will be upon us and invading our country in no long time, but as soon as ever the message comes to him that we will do nothing that he requires of us; wherefore, ere he comes into Attica, now is the time for us to march first into Boeotia." At this reply of the Athenians the envoys returned back to Sparta.



## BOOK IX

## I

1. Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὃς οἱ ἀπομνηστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσῆμιμε, ὄρμηθείς ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἤγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίνεται, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἥγεομένοισι οὐτε τα πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ συμπροέπεμψέ τε Θάρηξ ὁ Ληρισταῖς Ξέρξῃ φεύγοιτα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φαινεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορειόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτῶσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεύτερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου. οὐδὲ ἔως οἴεται ἐκαστέρῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον ποιέειν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἴσχυρὸν Ἑλληνας ὄμοφρονέοντας, οἵ περ καὶ πάρος ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον. χαλεπὸν εἶναι περιγίγεσθαι καὶ ἀπασιάνθρωποισι· “εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ίμεν παραπέμπειν,” ἔφασαν λέγοντες. “ἔξεις ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἴσχυρὰ βουλεύματα· πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἀιδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δέ

## BOOK IX

1. Mardonius, when Alexander returned and told him what he had heard from the Athenians, set forth from Thessaly and led his army with all zeal against Athens<sup>1</sup>; and to whatsoever country he came he took its people along with him. The rulers of Thessaly repented no whit of what they had already done, and were but readier than before to further his march; and Thoxus of Larissa, who had aided to give Xerxes safe-conduct in his flight, did now without disguise open a passage for Mardonius into Hellas.

2. But when the army in its march was come into Boeotia, the Thebans sought to stay Mardonius, advising him that he could find no country better fitted than theirs for encampment; he should not (they pleaded) go further, but rather halt there and so set as to subdue all Hellas without fighting. For as long as the Greeks who before had been of the same way of thinking remained in accord, it would be a hard matter even for the whole world to overcome them by force of arms; "but if you do as we advise," said the Thebans as they spoke, "you will without trouble be master of all their counsels of battle. Send money to the men that have power in their cities, and thereby you will divide Hellas against

<sup>1</sup> In the summer of 479. Mardonius occupied Athens in July.

## HERODOTUS

τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥημίδων μετὰ τῶν  
στασιωτέων καταστρέψει.

3. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευνον, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἐπεί-  
θετο, ἀλλά οἱ δεινὸς ἐμέστακτο ἡμέρος τὰς Ἀθήνας  
δεύτερα ἔλειν, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἕμα δὲ  
πυρσοῖσι διὰ οἵσων ἔδόκεε βασιλέει δηλώσειν  
ἔσιτι ἐν Σάρδισι διτὶ ἔχοι Ἀθῆνας· ὃς οὐδὲ τότε  
ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εύρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,  
ἄλλ' ἐν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπινθάνετο  
εἶναι ἐν τε τῆσι οηνοῖ, αἴρεε τε ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ.  
ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἴρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρ-  
δονίου ἐπιστρατηγῆν δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

4. Ἐπει δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος,  
πέμπτει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησ-  
πόντιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους ταὺς καὶ  
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διε-  
πόρθμενας. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε  
προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας,  
ἐλπίζων δὲ σφέας ὑπῆσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς  
δοριαλώτου ἔουσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ ἔουσης  
ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ.

5. Τούτῳ μὲν εἶνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην  
ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ὃ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βουλὴν  
ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων  
Δικίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς ἔδόκεε ἄμειγον εἶναι δε-  
ξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τὸν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει,  
ἔξερεῖκαι ἐν τὸν δῆμον. ὃ μὲν δὴ ταῦτη τὴν  
γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα  
παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ ἐάνδανε  
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δειπόν ποιησάμενοι οἴ τε ἐκ  
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν ὡς ἐπέθιοντα, περι-

itself; and after that, with your partisans to aid, you will easily subdue those who are your adversaries."

3. Such was their counsel, but he would not follow it; rather he was imbued with a wondrous desire to take Athens once more; this was partly of mere perversity, and partly because he thought to signify to the king at Sardis by a line of beacons across the islands that he held Athens. Yet on his coming to Attica he found the Athenians no more there than before, but, as he learnt, the most of them were on shipboard at Salamis; and he took the city, but no men therein. There were ten months between the king's taking of the place and the later invasion of Mardonius.

4. When Mardonius came to Athens, he sent to Salamis one Murychides, a man of the Hellespont, bearing the same offer as Alexander the Macedonian had ferried across to the Athenians. He sent this the second time because, albeit he knew already the Athenians' unfriendly purpose, he expected that they would abate their stiff-neckedness now that Attica was the captive of his spear and lay at his mercy.

5. For this reason he sent Murychides to Salamis, who came before the council and told them Mardonius' message. Then Lycidas, one of the counsellors, gave it for his opinion that it seemed to him best to receive the offer brought to them by Murychides and lay it before the people. This was the opinion which he declared, either because he had been bribed by Mardonius, or because the plan pleased him; but the Athenians in the council were very wroth, and so too when they heard of it were they that were outside; and they made a ring

## HERODOTUS

στιάντες Λυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἐλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν ἀσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῷ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδην, πυνθάνονται τὸ γυνόμενον αἱ γυναικες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεων οἰκίην ἦσαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναικαν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

6. Ἡδὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥδε. ἔως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οἱ δὲ ἔμερον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπει δὲ οἱ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολαῖτερα ἐποίεαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπιών καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὗτοι δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντο τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ἃς Λακεδαιμονιά τε ἐπερπον ἀγγέλουσα ἄμα μὲν μεμφομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἤντλασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην, ἄμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας δσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, προεῖπαν τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῖσι Ἀθηναῖοισι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὑρίσσονται.

7. Οἱ γάρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅρταζον τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφι ἡνὶ Τακίνθια, περὶ πλείστου δ' ἥγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παρσύνειν ἄμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχός σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεαν, καὶ ἥδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονία οἱ ἀγγέλοι οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων, ἄμα ἀγόμενοι ἐκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἐλεγον

round Lycidas and stoned him to death. But they suffered Morychides the Hellespontian to depart unharmed. There was much noise at Salamis over the business of Lycidas; and when the Athenian women learnt what was afoot, one calling to another and bidding her follow, they went of their own motion to the house of Lycidas, and stoned to death his wife and his children.

6. Now this was how the Athenians had passed over to Salamis. As long as they expected that the Peloponnesian army would come to their aid, so long they abode in Attica. But when the Peloponnesians were ever longer and slower in action, and the invader was said to be already in Boeotia, they did then convey all their goods out of harm's way and themselves crossed over to Salamis; and they sent envoys to Lacedaemon, who should upbraid the Lacedaemonians for suffering the foreigner to invade Attica and not meeting him in Boeotia with the Athenians to aid; and should bid the Lacedaemonians withal remember what promises the Persian had made to Athens if she would change sides, and warn them that the Athenians would devise some succour for themselves if the Lacedaemonians sent them no help.

7. For the Lacedaemonians were at this time holiday-making, keeping the festival of Hyacinthus,<sup>1</sup> and their chiefest care was to give the god his due; moreover, the wall that they were building on the Isthmus was by now even getting its battlements. When the Athenian envoys were arrived at Lacedaemon, bringing with them envoys from Megara

<sup>1</sup> A festival said to be of pre-Dorian origin, commemorating the killing of Hyacinthus by Apollo.

## HERODOTUS

τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑφόρους. Ὡς ἔπειρψαν  
 ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες δὲτι ὅμιν βασιλεὺς ὁ  
 Μῆδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδίδοι, τοῦτο δὲ  
 συμμάχους ἀθέλει ἐπ' ἵση τε καὶ ὄμοιη ποιήσασθαι  
 ἀνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἀθέλει δὲ καὶ ἀλληγ  
 χώρην πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέρην διδόναι, τὴν ἀντοὶ  
 ἐλώμεθα. ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες  
 καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δειρὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι σὺ  
 καταπέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεό-  
 μενοι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπι-  
 στάμενοι τε δὲτι κερδαλεώτερον ἐστὶ ὄμολογέειν  
 τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ περ πολεμεῖν οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ  
 ὄμολογήσομεν ἐκόντες εἴναι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ'  
 ἡμέων οὐτω ἀκίβδηλον μέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ  
 ὄμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπείτε ἔξεμάθετε τὸ  
 ἡμέτερον φρόντημα σαφέως, δὲτι οὐδαμὰ προδώ-  
 σομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὅμιν διὰ  
 τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλει ἐστί, καὶ δὴ  
 λόγοι οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθέ-  
 μενοί τε ὅμιν τὸν Πέρσην ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν  
 Βοιωτίην προδεδώκατε, περιείδετέ τε προεσβα-  
 λόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐς μέν νυν  
 τὸ παρεὺν Ἀθηναῖοι ὅμιν μημίουσι οὐ γάρ ἐποιή-  
 σατε ἐπιτηδέως. νῦν δὲ δὲτι τάχος στρατιὴν δμα  
 ὅμιν ἐκέλευσαν ὥμεας ἐκπέμπειν, ὡς ἀν τὸν βάρ-  
 βαρον δεκάμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρ-  
 τομεν τῇς Βοιωτίῃς, τῇς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεύτατον  
 ἐστὶ μαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον.

8. Ως δὲ ἄρα ἡκουσαν οἱ ἑφόροι ταῦτα, ἀγε-  
 βάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ

and Plataea, they came before the ephors and said : "The Athenians have sent us with this message : The king of the Medes is ready to give us back our country, and to make us his confederates, equal in right and standing, in all honour and honesty, and to give us withal whatever land we ourselves may choose besides our own. But we, for that we would not sin against Zeus the god of Hellas, and think it shame to betray Hellas, have not consented, but refused, and this though the Greeks are dealing with us wrongfully and betraying us to our hurt, and though we know that it is rather for our advantage to make terms with the Persian than to wage war with him ; yet we will not make terms with him, of our own free will. Thus for our part we act honestly by the Greeks ; but what of you, who once were in great dread lest we should make terms with the Persian ? Because now you have clear knowledge of our temper and are sure that we will never betray Hellas, and because the wall that you are building across the Isthmus is well-nigh finished, to-day you take no account of the Athenians, but have deserted us for all your promises that you would withstand the Persian in Boeotia, and have suffered the foreigner to march into Attica. For the nonce, then, the Athenians are angry with you ; for that which you have done beseems you ill. But now they pray you to send with us an army with all speed, that we may await the foreigner's onset in Attica ; for since we have lost Boeotia, in our own land the fittest battle-ground is the Thriasian plain."

8. When the ephors, it would seem, heard that, they delayed answering till the next day, and again

## HERODOTUS

ύστεραγι ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην· τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίεον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀγαθαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλῆν πάντες Πελοποννησίοι, καὶ σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλει. οὐδέ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἴτιον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξανδρού τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐν Ἀθήναις σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐπιβιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ νῷρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν. ἀλλο γε οὐδὲ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμός σφι ἐτείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δεῖσθαι οὐδένι ὅτε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὐκω ἀπετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντα δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

9. Τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἔξιδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε. τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσῃ ἐσεσθαι Χίλεος ἄνηρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν λακεδαιμονι μέγιστον ξείνων, τῷρ ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δῆ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλεγον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἐλεγε ἀρα σφι τάδε. "Οὗτοι ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἐφόροι: Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόρται μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε, πρίν τι ἀλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι."

10. "Ο μέν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἐπτὰ περὶ ἔκαστον ταξαντες

till the day after ; and this they did for ten days, putting off from day to day. In the meantime all the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus with might and main, and they had the work well-nigh done. Nor can I say why it was that when Alexander the Macedonian came to Athens<sup>1</sup> the Lacedaemonians were urgent that the Athenians should not take the Persian part, yet now made no account of that ; except it was that now they had the Isthmus fortified and thought they had no more need of the Athenians, whereas when Alexander came to Attica their wall was not yet built, and they were working thereat in great fear of the Persians.

9. But the manner of their answering at last and sending the Spartan army was this : On the day before that hearing which should have been the last, Chileus, a man of Tegea, who had more authority with the Lacedaemonians than any other of their guests, learnt from the ephors all that the Athenians had said ; and having heard it he said, as the tale goes, to the ephors, " Sirs, this is how the matter stands : if the Athenians be our enemies and the foreigner's allies, then though you drive a strong wall across the Isthmus the Persian has an effectual door opened for passage into the Peloponnese. Nay, hearken to them, ere the Athenians take some new resolve that will bring calamity to Hellas."

10. This was the counsel he gave the ephors, who straightway took it to heart ; saying no word to the envoys who were come from the cities, they bade march before dawn of day five thousand Spartans, with seven helots appointed to attend each of them ;

<sup>1</sup> ep. viii. 134.

## HERODOTUS

τῶν εἰλιάτων, Παυσανίη τῷ Κλεόμβρότου ἐπιτάξαντες ἔξαγειν. ἦγίνετο μὲν ἡ ἥγεμονή Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἕτι παῖς, ὃ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίεω μὲν πατὴρ Ἀιαζανδρέδειος δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τινὲς βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυσμέριφος οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἥλιος ὄμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, προσαιρέεται δὲ ἰωτῷ Παυσανίης Εὐρυμάνικτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἔόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

11. Οἱ μὲν δὴ σὸν Παυσανίην ἔξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγεγύνεται, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἔξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔωστον ἔκποστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε. "Τμέεις μὲν, ὃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τῆδε μέροντες Τακίνθιά τε ἀγετε καὶ παιζότε, καταπροδόντες τὸν συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ἵππο ὑμέων χήτει τε συμμάχων καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὗτοι δκως ἀν δύνωνται· καταλυσίμενοι δέ, δῆλα γὰρ δτι σύμμαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσομεθα ἐπ' ἡν ἀν ἔκεινοι ἔξηγέωνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὄκοιον ἀν τι ὑμῖν ἔξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνη." ταῦτα λεγόντων τῷρ ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὅρκου καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἴρατε ἐν Ὁρεοθείρ στείχοντας ἐπὶ

\* Ήταν σωμάτιον; Εὐρυανᾶς ήταν γιος του ο Νορίευς, who was a brother of Pausanias' father Cleombrotus.

and they gave the command to Pausanias son of Cleombrotus. The leader's place belonged of right to Pleistarchus son of Leonidas; but he was yet a boy, and Pausanias his guardian and cousin. For Cleombrotus, Pausanias' father<sup>1</sup> and Anaxandrides' son, was no longer living; after he led away from the Isthmus the army which had built the wall, he lived but a little while ere his death. The reason of Cleombrotus' leading his army away from the Isthmus was that while he was offering sacrifice for victory over the Persian the sun was darkened in the heavens. Pausanias chose as his colleague a man of the same family,<sup>1</sup> Euryanax son of Dorieus.

11. So Pausanias' army had marched away from Sparta; but as soon as it was day, the envoys came before the ephors, having no knowledge of the expedition, and being minded themselves too to depart each one to his own place; and when they were come, "You Lacedaemonians," they said, "abide still where you are, keeping your Hyacinthis and disporting yourselves, leaving your allies deserted; the Athenians, for the wrong that you do them and for lack of allies, will make their peace with the Persian as best they can, and thereafter, seeing that plainly we shall be the king's allies, we will march with him against whatever land his men lead us. Then will you learn what the issue of this matter shall be for you." Thus spoke the envoys; and the ephors swore to them that they believed their army to be even now at Orestheum,<sup>2</sup> marching

<sup>1</sup> Other references place Orestheum N.W. of Sparta, therefore hardly on the direct route to the Isthmus.

## HERODOTUS

τοὺς ξείνουν. ξείνουν γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. οὐ δὲ ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἔξεμαθον πᾶν τὸ ἔνν, οὗτοι ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι ἐπορεύουστο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες σὺν δέ σφι τῶν περιοίκων λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχιλίοι ὀπλίται τῷτο ἐπαίσουν.

12. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἤπειροντο· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Πανσανίεω ἔξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπαντι κῆρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀγειρόντες τὸν ἄριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδόνιοι ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσει τὸν Σπαρτιῆτην μὴ ἔξιένται δε ἐπείτε ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεγε τιδε. "Μαρδόνιοι, ἐπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ λακεδαιμονος ἔξεληλυθε ἡ νεάτης, καὶ ὡς οὐ δυνατοὶ πάντην ἔχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἔξιένται. πρὸς ταῦτα τύχαντε εὖ βουλευόμενος."

13. "Οἱ μὲν δὴ εἶπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιοι δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμοι ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, πρὶν μέν τυν ἡ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκάχενε, θέλων εἰδένται τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖοι τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὕτε ἐπίμαιε οὔτε ἰσίνετο γῆρ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνον ὄμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθε, πυθάμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἡ τοὺς μετὰ Πανσανίεω ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχάρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἰ κούτι ὄρθον ἢν τῶν τειχέων ἡ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἡ τῶν ἵρων, πάντα καταβαλῶν καὶ συγχώσας. ἔξιλαντε

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<sup>1</sup> Inhabitants of the country districts of Laconia, not enjoying the full privileges of Spartans.

against the “strangers,” as they called the foreigners. Having no knowledge of this, the envoys questioned them further as to what the tale might mean, and thereby learnt the whole truth ; whereat they marvelled, and took the road with all speed after the army ; and with them went likewise five thousand chosen men-at-arms of the Lacedaemonian countrymen.<sup>1</sup>

12. So they made haste to reach the Isthmus. But the Argives had already promised Mardonius that they would hinder the Spartan from going out to war ; and as soon as they were informed that Pausanias and his army had departed from Sparta, they sent as their herald to Attica the swiftest runner of long distances that they could find ; who, when he came to Athens, spoke on this wise to Mardonius : “I am sent by the Argives to tell you that the young men have gone out from Lacedaemon to war, and that the Argives cannot stay them from so doing ; wherefore, may fortune grant you good counsel.”

13. So spoke the herald, and departed back again ; and when Mardonius heard that, he was no longer desirous of remaining in Attica. Before he had word of it, he had held his hand, desiring to know the Athenians’ plan and what they would do, and neither harmed nor harried the land of Attica, for he still ever supposed that they would make terms with him ; but when he could not move them, and learnt all the truth of the matter, he drew off from before Pausanias’ army ere it entered the Isthmus ; but first he burnt Athens, and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing. The reason of his

## HERODOTUS

δὲ τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἴππασιμη ἡ χώρη ἡνὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ, εἰ τε οὐκότο συμβαλλόν, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἡνὶ δτι μὴ κατὰ στενάν, ὥστε ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἵσχειν. ἐβούλευετο ὁν ἐπαναχωρήσαις ἐς τὰς Θήβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλιν τε φιλίη καὶ χώρη ἴππασιμῳ.

14. Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἥδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἔοντι αὐτῷ ἥλθε ἀγγελίη πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἤκειν ἐς Μέγαρα. Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβούλευετο θέλων εἰς κως τούτους πρῶτον ἔλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἥγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ ὑππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρην τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ιλίου δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκετο.

15. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίφ ἥλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἀλέετε εἴησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελέης οἱ γύρη βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οἵτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἥγεοντο ἐς Σφεγδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νόκτα ἐναυλισάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαΐων ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῷ Θηβαΐων καίπερ μηδικόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὕτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀραγκαῖης μεγάλης ἔχόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἡνὶ συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνεις ὄκοισσι τι ἰθέλοι, κρηπτοφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων

marching away was, that Attica was no country for horsemen's work, and if he should be worsted in a battle there was no way of retreat save one so narrow that a few men could stay his passage.<sup>1</sup> Wherefore it was his plan to retreat to Thebes and do battle where he had a friendly city at his back and ground fitted for horsemen.

14. So Mardonius drew his men off, and when he had now set forth on his road there came a message that over and above the rest an advance guard of a thousand Lacedaemonians was arrived at Megara; at which hearing he took counsel how he might first make an end of these; and he turned about and led his army against Megara, his horse going first and overrunning the lands of that city. That was the most westerly place in Europe to which this Persian armament attained.

15. Presently there came a message to Mardonius that the Greeks were gathered together on the Isthmus. Thereupon he marched back again through Decelea; for the rulers of Boeotia sent for those of the Asopus country that dwelt near, and these guided him to Sphendalae and thence to Tanagra, where he camped for the night; and on the next day he turned thence to Scolus, where he was in Theban territory. There he laid waste the lands of the Thebans, though they took the Persian part; not for any ill-will that he bore them, but because sheer necessity drove him to make a strong place for his army, and to have this for a refuge if the fortune of battle were other than he desired. His army covered the ground from Erythrae past

<sup>1</sup> He would have to retreat into Boeotia by way of the pass over Cithaeron.

## HERODOTUS

παρὰ Τσιάς, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιήδα γῆν,  
παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ  
μέντοι τό γε τέχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ' ὡς  
ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστά κη μέτωπον ἔκαστον.

16. Εχόντων δὲ τὸν πόρον τοῦτον τῶν Βαρ-  
βάρων, Ἀτταγίνος ὁ Φρύνιος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος  
παρασκευαστάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια  
αὐτὸν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Πέρσεων  
τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἶποντο·  
ἡν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιεύμενον ἐν Θήβαισι, τάδε  
δὲ ἥδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἱκουον Θερσάνδρου ἄνδρος  
μὲν Ὁρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρώτα ἐν  
Ὁρχομενῷ. ἐφη δὲ οἱ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ  
αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κλη-  
θῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα, καὶ  
σφεων οὐ χωρίς ἐκατέρους κλίναι, ἀλλὰ Πέρσην  
τε καὶ Θηβαίον ἐν κλίνῃ ἐκάστῃ. ὡς δὲ ἡπὸ  
δείπνου ἥσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὄμο-  
κλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἵέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν  
ὅποδαπός ἔστι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἴη  
Ὁρχομενίος. τὸν δὲ εἶπεν "Ἐπεὶ νῦν ὄμοτρά-  
πεζος τέ μοι καὶ ὄμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μημόσυνά  
τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ  
προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωντοῦ βουλεύεσθαι ἔχῃς  
τὰ συμφέροντα. ορᾶς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους  
Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ  
ποταμῷ στρατοπεδεύμενον· τούτων πάρτων  
δῆθει ὀλίγους τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὀλίγους  
τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους." ταῦτα ἄμα τε τὸν  
Πέρσην λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων.  
αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν  
"Οὐκῶν Μαρδονίφ τε ταῦτα χρέον ἔστι λέγειν

Hysiae and reached unto the lands of Plataeae, where it lay ranked by the Asopus river. I say not that the walled camp which he made was so great; each side of it was of a length of about ten furlongs.

16. While the foreigners were employed about this work, Attaginus son of Phrynon, a Theban, made great preparation and invited Mardonius with fifty who were the most notable of the Persians to be his guests at a banquet. They came as they were bidden; the dinner was given at Thebes. Now here follows the end of that matter, which was told me by Thersandrus of Orechomenus, one of the most notable men of that place. Thersandrus too (he said) was bidden to this dinner, and fifty Thebans besides; and Attaginus made them sit, not each man by himself, but on each couch a Persian and a Theban together. Now after dinner while they drank one with another, the Persian that sat with him asked Thersandrus in the Greek tongue of what country he was; and Thersandrus answered that he was of Orechomenus. Then said the Persian: "Since now you have eaten at the board with me and drunk with me thereafter, I would fain leave some record of my thought, that you yourself may have such knowledge as to take fitting counsel for your safety. See you these Persians at the banquet, and that host which we left encamped by the river side? of all these in a little while you shall see but a little remnant left alive"; and as he said this, the Persian wept bitterly. Marvelling at this saying, Thersandrus answered: "Must you not then tell this to Mardonius

## HERODOTUS

καὶ τοῖσι μετ' ἔκεινον ἐν αὐγῇ δοῦσι Περσέων;”  
τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶπεν “Ξέιρε, διὰ τί δεῖ γενέσθαι  
ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδὲ  
γάρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς.  
ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμενα  
ἀναγκαῖη ἐνδεδεμένοι, ἔχθιστη δὲ ὁδύνη ἔστι τῶν  
ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὐτῇ, παλλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς  
κρατέειν.” ταῦτα μὲν Ὁρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου  
ἴκουνοι, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα  
λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ή γενέσθαι  
ἐν Πλαταιῆσι τὴν μάχην.

17. Μαρδόνιον δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ στρατοπέδενο-  
μένον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρεχοντο ἀπαρτεῖσται στρατιὴν  
καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐν Ἀθῆναις, δοσοὶ περ ἐμῆδιξον  
Ἐλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ εἰκημένων, μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκέες  
οὐ συνεσέβαλον (ἐμῆδιξον γάρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ  
οὗτοι) οὐκ ἐκόντες ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαῖης. ἡμέρας  
δὲ οὐ πολλῆσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας  
ὑπτερούς ἡλθον αὐτῶν ὅπλῖται χίλιοι, ἢγε δὲ  
αὐτοὺς Ἀρμοκύδης ἀνήρ τῶν ἀστῶν δακιμώτατος,  
ἔπει δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ  
Μαρδόνιος ἵππεας ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ἐν  
τῷ πεδίῳ ἤζεσθαι. ἐπει τὸ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα,  
αὐτίκα παρῆν ἵππος ἡ ἀπαστα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
διεξῆλθε μιν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ  
τοῦ μετὰ Μῆδων ἔντος φίμη ὡς κατακοντιεῖ  
σφεας. διεξῆλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων τώντο  
τοῦτο. ἔνθα δή σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης  
παραίνεε λέγων τοιάδε. “Ω Φωκέες, πρόδηλα  
γάρ δτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἀνθρώποι μέλλουσι προ-  
όπτῳ θηνάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεο-  
σαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω τὸν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ

and those honourable Persians that are with him?" "Sir," said the Persian, "that which heaven wills to send no man can turn aside; for even truth finds none to believe it. What I have said is known to many of us Persians; but we follow, in the bonds of necessity. And it is the hatefulest of all human sorrows to have much knowledge and no power." This tale I heard from Thersandrus of Orechomenus; who said to me, moreover, that he had straightway told it to others before the fight of Plataea.

17. So Mardonius was making his encampment in Boeotia; all the Greeks of that region who took the Persian part furnished fighting men, and they joined with him in his attack upon Athens, except only the Phocians: as to taking the Persian part, that they did in good sooth, albeit not willingly but of necessity. But when a few days were past after the Persians' coming to Thebes, there came a thousand Phocian men-at-arms, led by Harmocyes, the most notable of their countrymen. These also being arrived at Thebes, Mardonius sent horsemen and bade the Phocians take their station on the plain by themselves. When they had so done, straightway appeared the whole of the Persian cavalry; and presently it was bruited about through all the Greek army that was with Mardonius, and likewise among the Phocians themselves, that Mardonius would shoot them to death. Then their general Harmocyes exhorted them: "Men of Phocis," he said, "seeing it is plain that death at these fellows' hands stares us in the face (we being, as I surmise, maligned by the Thessalians); now it is meet for

## HERODOTUS

ίμεων χρεον ἔστι γενεσθαι ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γάρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνόμενον τελευτῆσαι τὸν πίσταν ἡ περ παρέχοντας διαφθιρῆται αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ. ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔντες βύρ-βαροι ἐπ' "Ελλησι ἄνδρας φόνον ἔρραψαν."

18. "Ο μὲν ταῦτα παραίνει οἱ δὲ ἵππεις ἐπει σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπίλαυνον ὡς ἀπο-λέουτες, καὶ δὴ διετέλεοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπί-στες, καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἱ ἄντιοι ἔστησαν πάντη συστρέψαντες ἔωντοις καὶ πικρώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπ-πόται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπίλαυνον ὅπιστ. οὐκ ἔχω δὲ ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἥλθον μὲν ἀπο-λέουτες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρόματα, οὕτω δὴ ἀπή-λαυνον ὅπιστ. ὡς γύρισφι ἐνετεῖλατο Μαρδόνιος οὗτ' εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆται ἥθελησε εἰ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ ὅπιστ ἀπήλαυνον οἱ ἵππόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κύρυκα ἐλεγε τάχε. "Θαρ-σέετε ὡς Φωκέες ἄνδρες γάρ ἐφάνητε ἔντες ἀγα-θοί, οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπινθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον εὑργεστίσαι γάρ οὐ νικήσετε οὗτ' ὡν ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλέα." τὰ περὶ Φωκίων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

19. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἥλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντα. πινθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἔαρδαις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὄρῶντες ἔξιόντας Σπαρτιῆτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίεντι λείπεσθαι τῆς ἔξοδου Λακεδαι-μονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καλλιερησάντων

every one of you to play the man; for it is better to end our lives in action and fighting than tamely to suffer a shameful death. Nay, but we will teach them that they whose slaying they have devised are men of Hellas." Thus he exhorted them.

18. But when the horsemen had encircled the Phocians they rode at them as it were to slay them, and drew their bows to shoot, and 'tis like that some did even shoot. The Phocians fronted them every way, drawing in together and closing their ranks to the best of their power; whereat the horsemen wheeled about and rode back and away. Now I cannot with exactness say if they came at the Thessalians' desire to slay the Phocians, but, when they saw the men preparing to defend themselves, feared lest they themselves should suffer some hurt, and so rode away back (for such was Mardonius' command),—or if Mardonius desired to test the Phocians' mettle. But when the horsemen had ridden away, Mardonius sent a herald, with this message: "Men of Phocis, be of good courage; for you have shown yourselves to be valiant men, and not as it was reported to me. And now push this war zealously forward; for you will outdo neither myself nor the king in the rendering of service."<sup>1</sup> Thus far went the Phocian business.

19. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they were come to the Isthmus, they encamped there. When the rest of the Peloponnesians who chose the better cause heard that, seeing the Spartans setting forth to war, they deemed it was not for them to be behind the Lacedaemonians in so doing. Wherefore they all marched from the Isthmus (the owners of

<sup>1</sup> That is, serve us and we will serve you.

## HERODOTUS

τῶν ἵρων ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐν  
Ἐλευσίνᾳ παιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἵρα, ὡς  
σφι ἐκαλλιέρρε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι  
δὲ ἄμα αὐτοῖς, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος,  
συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ, ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκορτο  
τῆς Βοιωτίης ἐς Ἑρυθράς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς  
Βιρβάροντας ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους,  
φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς  
ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.

20. Μαράντιος δέ, ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες  
ἐς τὸ πεδίον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον,  
τῆς ἵππάρχες Μασίστιος εὔδοκιμέστερος παρὰ Πέρ-  
σηστι, τὸν Ἕλληνες Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἵππον  
ἔχων Νησαῖον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ ἄλλως κεκο-  
σμημένον καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσῆλασαν οἱ  
ἵππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ  
τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο  
καὶ γυναικας σφέας ἀπεκάλεον.

21. Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον τα-  
χθέντες τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου  
παντός, καὶ πρόσοδος μάλιστα ταύτη ἐγίνετο τῇ  
ἵππῳ. προσβαλλούστης διν τῆς ἵππου οἱ Μεγα-  
ρέες πιεζόμενοι ἐπειπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατιγοὺς τῶν  
Ἕλληνων κῆρυκα, ἀπικύμερος δὲ ο κῆρυξ πρὸς  
αὐτοὺς ἐλεγε τάδε. "Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς,  
ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων  
ἵππον δέκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην  
ἐς τὴν ἑστημένην ἀρχήν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρίγ-  
τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι. τοῦ  
τε εἰ μὴ τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς  
τάξιος, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοιτας τὴν τάξιν." ὃ  
μὲν διῇ σφι ταῦτα ἀπέγγειλε, Παυσανίης δὲ ἀπε-

sacrifice being favourable) and came to Eleusis; and when they had offered sacrifice there also and the omens were favourable, they held on their march further, having now the Athenians with them, who had crossed over from Salamis and joined with them at Eleusis. When they came (as it is said) to Erythrae in Boeotia, they learnt that the foreigners were encamped by the Asopus, and taking note of that they arrayed themselves over against the enemy on the lower hills of Cithaeron.

20. The Greeks not coming down into the plain, Mardonius sent against them all his horse, whose commander was Masistius (whom the Greeks call Macistius), a man much honoured among the Persians; he rode a Nesean horse that had a golden bit and was at all points gallantly adorned. Thereupon the horsemen rode up to the Greeks and charged them by squadrons, doing them much hurt thereby and calling them women.

21. Now it chanced that the Megarians were posted in that part of the field which was openest to attack, and here the horsemen found the readiest approach. Wherefore, being hard pressed by the charges, the Megarians sent a herald to the generals of the Greeks, who came to them and thus spoke: "From the men of Megara to their allies: We cannot alone withstand the Persian horse (albeit we have till now held our ground with patience and valour, though hard pressed) in this post whereunto we were first appointed; and now be well assured that we will leave our post, except you send others to take our place therein." Thus the herald reported, and

## HERODOTUS

παιράτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες ἔθελοιεν ἄλλοι  
ἔθελονταὶ οἵναι τε ἐς τὸν χώρον τοῦτον καὶ τάσ-  
σεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ  
τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖσι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναῖσιν  
οἱ τριηκόσιαι λογιᾶδες, τῶν ἐλοχίγγες Ὄλυμπιόδωρος  
ὁ Λάμπτων.

22. Οὗτοι ήσαν οἵ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Τερυθρὰς  
ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι, μαχομένων  
δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιόνδε ἐγένετο τῆς  
μάχης. προσβαλλούσῃς τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα,  
οἱ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται  
τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἵσταται τε  
ὑρθὸς καὶ ἀποστίσται τὸν Μασιστίου πεσόντι  
δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέπατο. τούς τε  
δὴ ἵππουν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον  
κτείνουσι, κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο  
γάρ οὕτω ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἰχε χρύσεον λεπιδωτὸν,  
κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον  
ἐγεδεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐπολευν  
οὐδέν, πρίν γε δὴ μαθὼν τις τὸ ποιεύμενον πάιει  
μιν ἐς τὸν ὄφθαλμόν. οὕτῳ δὴ ἐπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέ-  
θανε. ταῦτα δέ κας γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς  
ἄλλους ἵππέας· οὕτε γάρ πεπάντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
τοῦ ἵππου οὕτε ἀποθυησκούτα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε  
γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινό-  
μενον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπάθεσαν, ὡς  
σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσων μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός,  
διακέλευσάμενοι ἥλαινον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὃς  
ἀν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνέλοιατο.

23. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα  
προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἵππέας ἄλλα πάντας, τὴν  
182

Pausanias inquired among the Greeks if any would offer themselves to go to that place and relieve the Megarians by holding the post. None other would go; but the Athenians took it upon themselves, even three hundred picked men of Athens, whose captain was Olympiodorus son of Lampon.

22. These were they who took it upon themselves, and were posted at Erythrae in advance of the whole Greek army; and they took with them the archers also. For a long time they fought; and the end of the battle was as I shall show. The horsemen charged by squadrons; and Masistius' horse, being at the head of the rest, was smitten in the side by an arrow, and rearing up in its pain it threw Masistius; who when he fell was straightway set upon by the Athenians. His horse they took then and there, and he himself was slain fighting, though at first they could not kill him; for the fashion of his armour was such, that he wore a purple tunic over a cuirass of golden scales that was within it; and it was all in vain that they smote at the cuirass, till someone saw what they did and stabbed him in the eye, so that he fell dead. But as chance would have it the rest of the horsemen knew nought of this; for they had not seen him fall from his horse, or die; and they wheeled about and rode back without perceiving what was done. But as soon as they halted they saw what they lacked, since there was none to order them; and when they perceived what had chanced, they gave each other the word, and all rode together to recover the dead body.

23. When the Athenians saw the horsemen riding at them, not by squadrons as before, but all together,

## HERODOTUS

ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβίβαστο. ἐν φὶ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς  
ἄπας ἐβοήθεε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχῃ ὅξεια περὶ τοῦ  
νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἔως μέν νυν μαῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τριη-  
κόσιοι, ἐσσοῦντό τε πολλὰν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέ-  
λειπον· ὡς δέ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε, οὕτω  
δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἵπποται ὑπέμενον οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο  
τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους  
προσαπάλεσαν τῶν ἵππεων. ἀποστήσαντες ὧν  
ὅσον τε δύο στάδια ἐθουλεύοντο ὁ τι χρεὸν εἴη  
ποιέειν ἔδόκεε δέ σφι ἀναρχίης ἐούσης ἀπελαύνειν  
παρὰ Μαρδόνιαν.

24. Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον  
πάνθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίους πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ  
καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες  
καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώ-  
μενοι ἀπλέτων ἀπασταν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίην κατεῖχε  
ἥχὼ ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετά γε Μαρδόνιον  
λογιμωτάτου παρά τε Πέρσης καὶ βασιλέων.

25. Οἱ μέν νυν Βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ  
ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιουν οἱ δέ "Ἐλλῆνες  
ὦ τὴν ἵππον ἔδέξαντο προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξά-  
μενοι ὥσαντο, ἐθάρσησάν τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ  
πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἄμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ  
τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἀλιος  
μεγάθεος εἶνεκα καὶ καλλεος, τῶν δὴ εἶνεκα καὶ  
ταῦτα ἐποίευν ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτων  
Θεησύμεροι Μασίστιοι. μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξε σφι ἐπι-  
καταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο  
πολλῷ ἐών ἐπιτηδεύτερος σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι  
ὁ Πλαταικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ  
εὐսδρότερος. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>184</sup>  
τὴν κρήμην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ

they cried to the rest of the army for help. While all their foot was rallying to aid, there waxed a sharp fight over the dead body. As long as the three hundred stood alone, they had the worst of the battle by far, and were nigh leaving the dead man; but when the main body came to their aid, then it was the horsemen that could no longer hold their ground, nor avail to recover the dead man, but they lost others of their comrades too besides Masistius. They drew off therefore and halted about two furlongs off, where they consulted what they should do; and resolved, as there was none to lead them, to ride away to Mardonius.

24. When the cavalry returned to the camp, Mardonius and all the army made very great mourning for Masistius, cutting their own hair and the hair of their horses and beasts of burden, and lamenting loud and long; for the sound of it was heard over all Boeotia, insasmuch as a man was dead who was next to Mardonius most esteemed by all Persia and the king.

25. So the foreigners honoured Masistius' death after their manner; but the Greeks were much heartened by their withholding and repelling of the horsemen. And first they laid the dead man on a cart and carried him about their ranks; and the body was worth the viewing, for stature and goodliness; wherefore they would even leave their ranks and come to view Masistius. Presently they resolved that they would march down to Platene; for they saw that the ground there was in all ways fitter by much for encampment than at Erythræ, and chiefly because it was better watered. To this place, and to the Gargaphian spring that was there,

## HERODOTUS

ἔδεσαν ἔδοξέ σφι χρεῖν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἦσαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Ἀστίας ἐς τὴν Πλαταιήν γῆν, ἀπικομένοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνα πλησίον τῆς τε κρίμνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος, διὰ δχθῶν τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου.

26. Ειθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξῃ ἐγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ὀθισμὸς Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἔδικαίεννυ γάρ αὗτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἔτερον κέρατον, καὶ κατὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε. “Πρεῖς αἱεὶ κοτε αξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἵπαντων, ὅσαι ἡδη ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρῶντο μετὰ τὸν Εύρυσθέος θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον τότε εὑρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἔντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκβαηθῆσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἴζόμεθα ἄντιοι τοῖσι κατιοῦσι, τότε ὁν λόγος Ὅλλοι ἀγορεύσασθαι ὡς χρέον εἴη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀγακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου τὸν ἄν σφέον αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἀριστον, τοῦτον οἱ μονομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι. ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα καὶ ἔταμον ὄρκιον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ἢν μὲν Ὅλλος νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίων ἥγεμόνα, κατιέργαι Ἡρακλεῖδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἢν δὲ νικηθῇ, τὰ

they resolved that they must betake themselves and encamp in their several battalions; and they took up their arms and marched along the lower slopes of Cithaeron past Hysiae to the lands of Plataeae, and when they were there they arrayed themselves nation by nation near the Gargaphian spring and the precinct of the hero Androcrates, among low hills and in a level country.

26. There, in the ordering of their battle, arose much dispute between the Tegeans and the Athenians; for each of them claimed that they should hold the second<sup>1</sup> wing of the army, justifying themselves by tales of deeds new and old. First said the Tegeans: "Of all the allies we have ever had the right to hold this post, in all campaigns ancient and late of the united Peloponnesian armies, ever since that time when the Heraclidae after Eurystheus' death essayed to return into the Peloponnesus; that right we then gained, for the achievement which we will relate. When we mustered at the Isthmus for war, along with the Achaeans and Ionians who then dwelt in the Peloponnesus, and encamped over against the returning exiles, then (it is said) Hyllus<sup>2</sup> proclaimed his counsel that army should not be risked against army in battle, but that that champion in the host of the Peloponnesians whom they chose for their best should fight with him in single combat on agreed conditions. The Peloponnesians resolving that this should be so, they swore a compact that if Hyllus should vanquish the Peloponnesian champion, the Heraclidae should return to the land of their fathers, but if he were himself vanquished, then

<sup>1</sup> That is, the wing which was not held by the Lacedaemonians themselves.      <sup>2</sup> Son of Hercules.

## HERODOTUS

δημπαλιν' Ἡρακλεῖδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν ἑκατόν τε ἔτεον μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐφ Πελοπόννησον, προεκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἐθελούστης Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπον τοῦ Φηγέτος στρατηγός τε ἐών καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουνημάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε "Τλλον. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὑρόμεθα ἐν Πελοποννησίοισί γε τοῖσι τύτε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἔτερου αἰεὶ ἥγεμονεύειν καὶ νῆσον ἔξεδου γνωμένης. ὑμὲν μὲν νῦν ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἄλλῳ διεῖντες αἴρεσιν ὑποτέρου θούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν παρίεμεν· τοῦ δὲ ἔτερου φαρὲν ἡμέας ἴκρεσθαι ἥγεμονεύειν κατά περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρίς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπιγημένου ἔργου ἀξιομικότεροι εἰμὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτην τὴν ταξιν ἔχειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γάρ καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, ἀγνῶνες ἀγωνίζαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. αὗτῳ δὲ δικαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἔτερον κέρας οὐ περ Ἀθηναίους· οὐ γάρ σφι ἔστι ἔργα οὐλαὶ περ ἡμῖν κατέργασμένα, οὕτ' αὐτοὶ καὶνά οὔτε παλαιά.

27. Οὐ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τίνδε μάχης εἶνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων ἐπει δὲ ὁ Τεγεάτης προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν τὰ ἑκατέρωντι ἐρ τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστά, ἀναγκαῖοις ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλώσαι πρὸς ὑμέας δθεν ἡμῖν πατράπον ἔστι ἱσσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ πρώτοισι εἶναι μᾶλλον η Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλεῖδας, τῶν οὗτοι φασὶ ἀπακτεῖναι τὸν ἥγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο

contrariwise the Heraclidae should depart and lead their army away, and not seek to return to the Peloponnese till a hundred years were past. Then our general and king Echernes, son of Phiegeus' son Eēropus, offered himself and was chosen out of all the allied host; and he fought that duel and slew Hyllus. For thatfeat of arms the Peloponnesians of that day granted us this also among other great privileges which we have never ceased to possess, that in all united campaigns we should ever lead the army's second wing. Now with you, men of Lacedaemon, we have no rivalry, but forbear and bid you choose the command of whichever wing you will; but this we say, that our place is at the head of the other, as ever aforetime. And setting aside thatfeat which we have related, we are worthier than the Athenians to hold that post; for many are the fields on which we have fought with happy event in regard to you, men of Lacedaemon, and others besides. It is just, therefore, that we and not the Athenians should hold the second wing; for never early or late have they achieved such feats of arms as we."

27. Thus they spoke; and thus the Athenians replied: "It is our belief that we are here gathered in concourse for battle with the foreigner, and not for discourses; but since the man of Tegea has made it his business to speak of all the valorous deeds, old and new, which either of our nations has at any time achieved, needs must that we prove to you how we, rather than Arcadians, have in virtue of our valour an hereditary right to the place of honour. These Tegeans say that they slew the leader of the Heraclidae at the Isthmus; now when those same Hera-

## HERODOTUS

μὲν τούτους, πρότερον ἔξελαυρομένους ὑπὸ πάντων  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην  
 πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐ-  
 ρυσθέος ὑβριν κατεῖλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχῃ  
 μικήσαντες τὸν τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον.  
 τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τὸν μετὰ Πολιυτείκεος ἐπὶ  
 Θήβας ἐλύσαντας, τελευτῆσαντας τὸν αἰώνα καὶ  
 ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φανέν καὶ  
 θάψαι τὴν ἡμετέρην ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ. ἐστι δὲ ἡμῖν  
 ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ὑπὸ Θερ-  
 μώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούστας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν  
 Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν  
 ἐλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τοιτού  
 ἐπιμεμηῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἀν χρηστοῖ τότε ἔοντες  
 ὥντοι νῦν ἀν εἰεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τάτε ἔοντες  
 φλαῦροι νῦν ἀν εἰεν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μέν τοι  
 ἔργων ἄλις ἐστατ ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ  
 ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ  
 ἔχοντα εἰ τεοῖσι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἄλλα καὶ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἰμὲν τοῦτο τὸ  
 γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ, οἵτινες μοῦνοι  
 Ἑλλήνων δὴ μονομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ  
 ἔργῳ τοσούτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ  
 ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεος ἐξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἀρ-  
 οὐ δίκαστοι εἰμὲν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ  
 τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ ἐν τῷ  
 τοιῷδε τάξιος εἶνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἀρτιοί  
 εἰμὲν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν ὡ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει  
 ἐπιτηδεότατοι ἡμέας εἶναι ἐστάγαι καὶ κατ-  
 οδστινας πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα

clidae had till then been rejected by every Greek people to whom they resorted to escape the tyranny of the Mycenaeans, we and none other received them<sup>1</sup>; and with them we vanquished those that then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and we broke the pride of Eurystheus. Furthermore, when the Argives who had marched with Polynices<sup>2</sup> against Thebes had there made an end of their lives and lay unburied, know that we sent our army against the Cadmeans and recovered the dead and buried them in Eleusis; and we have on record our great victory against the Amazons who once came from the river Thermodon and broke into Attica; and in the hard days of Troy we were second to none. But since it is idle to recall these matters—for they that were erstwhile valiant may now be of lesser mettle, and they that lacked mettle then may be better men now—enough of these doings of old time; and we, if we are known for no achievement (as we are, for more and greater than are any men in Hellas), yet from ourfeat of arms at Marathon we deserve to have this honour, yea, and more beside; seeing that alone of all Greeks we met the Persian single-handed, nor failed in that high enterprise, but overcame six and forty nations. Is it not our right to hold this post, for nought but that onefeat? Yet seeing that this is no time for wrangling about our place in the battle, we are ready to obey you, men of Lacedaemon! and take whatso place and face whatso enemy you deem most fitting; wheresoever you set us, we will strive to be valiant

<sup>1</sup> Hyllus, pursued by his enemy Eurystheus, took refuge with the Athenians, and with their aid defeated and killed Eurystheus and his sons.

<sup>2</sup> When Polynices tried to recover Thebes from his brother Eteocles; see Aeschylus' "Seven against Thebes."

## HERODOTUS

είναι χρησταί. ἔξηγέεσθε δὲ ὡς πεισμένων<sup>π</sup> οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἄπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιοκοτέρους είναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἢ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὗτοι δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

28. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὡδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἔλθοντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἔοντας Σπαρτιῆτας ἐφύλασσον ψιλοὶ τῶν εἰλώτων πεντακισχιλίοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἀνδρα ἔκαστον ἑπτά τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι εἴλοντο ἔστανται οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἶνεν καὶ ἀρετῆς τούτων δὲ ἥσται ὀπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἴσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχιλίοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εὑρούντο παρὰ Παυσανίεω ἔστανται Ποτιδαιητέων τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. τούτων δὲ ἔχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὁρχαμένοι ἐξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχιλίοι. τούτων δὲ εἶχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἔχόμενοι Δεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἔχόμενοι Φλειάστοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστησαν Ἐρμιανέες τριηκόσιοι. Ἐρμιανέων δὲ ἔχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἐρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἐξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιητέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἔστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἔχόμενοι Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλ-

men. Command us then, as knowing that we will obey." Thus the Athenians answered; and the whole army shouted aloud that the Athenians were worthier to hold the wing than the Arcadians. Thus the Athenians were preferred to the men of Tegea, and gained that place.

28. Presently the whole Greek army was arrayed as I shall show, both the later and the earliest comers. On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedaemonians; five thousand of these, who were Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man. The Spartans chose the Tegeans for their neighbours in the battle, both to do them honour, and for their valour; there were of these fifteen hundred men-at-arms. Next to these in the line were five thousand Corinthians, at whose desire Pausanias suffered the three hundred Potidaeans from Pallene then present to stand by them. Next to these were six hundred Arcadians from Orchomenus, and after them three thousand men of Sicyon. By these a thousand Trozenians were posted, and after them two hundred men of Lepreum, then four hundred from Myenae and Tiryns, and next to them a thousand from Phlius. By these stood three hundred men of Hermione. Next to the men of Hermione were six hundred Eretrians and Styreans; next to them, four hundred Chalcidians; next again, five hundred Ampraciots. After these stood eight hundred Lelegians and Anactorians, and next to them two hundred from

## HERODOTUS

ληρίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λίγυνητέων πεντακόσιοι ἔτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔτάσσαντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἶχοντα δὲ τούτων Πλαταιές ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρώτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐόνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι. ἐστρατήγες δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου.

29. Οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ περὶ ἔκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, οἵσαν ὄπλιται, σύμπαντες ἔντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὅκτω χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἑπτά. ὄπλιται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον οἴσταν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τόδε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἔντοφρ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἔκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἐλλήνων ψιλοί, ὡς εἰς περὶ ἔκαστον ἐὼν ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι οἴσται.

30. Ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἀπάντων τῶν μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἔξι τε μυριάδες καὶ ἑννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιάς σὺν τε ὄπλιτησι καὶ ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἑνδεκα μυριάδες οἴσται, μῆτραι χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἄνδρων καταδέουσαι. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι ἔξεπληγροῦντο αἱ ἑνδεκα μυριάδες· παρῆσαν γάρ καὶ Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ πέριεοιτες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ὄπλα δὲ οὐδέ οὔτοι εἶχον. οὕτοι μέν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

31. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπε-

Pole in Cephallenia; after them in the array, five hundred Aeginetans; by them stood three thousand men of Megara, and next to these six hundred Plataeans. At the end, and first in the line, were the Athenians, on the left wing, eight thousand men; their general was Aristides son of Lysimachus.

29. All these, save the seven appointed to attend each Spartan, were men-at-arms, and the whole sum of them was thirty-eight thousand and seven hundred. This was the number of men-at-arms that mustered for war against the foreigner; as regarding the number of the light-armed men, there were in the Spartan array seven for each man-at-arms, that is, thirty-five thousand, and every one of these was equipped for war; the light-armed from the rest of Lacedaemon and Hellas were as one to every man-at-arms, and their number was thirty-four thousand and five hundred.

30. So the sum of all the light-armed men that were fighters was sixty-nine thousand and five hundred, and of the whole Greek army mustered at Plataea, men-at-arms and light-armed fighting men together, eleven times ten thousand, lacking eighteen hundred. But the Thespians who were there present made up the full tale of an hundred and ten thousand; for the survivors<sup>1</sup> of the Thespians were also present with the army, eighteen hundred in number. These then were arrayed, and encamped by the Asopus.

31. When Mardonius' foreigners had finished their

<sup>1</sup> That is, who had not fallen at Thermopylae.

## HERODOTUS

κῆδευσταν Μασίστιον, παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς  
 Ἑλλήνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Λασπὸν τὸν ταῦτη φέουτα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ  
 ἀρτετάσσοντο ὡς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, κατὰ μὲν  
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ πολλὸν  
 γὰρ περιῆσαν πλήθει οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τάξις  
 πλεῦνας ἐκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπεῖχον τοὺς Τεγείτας.  
 ἔταξε δὲ οὗτος ὃ τι μὲν ἦρ αὐτῶν δινατώτατον  
 πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίῳ, τὸ  
 δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγείτας.  
 ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων  
 Θηβαίων. Περσίων δὲ ἔχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους  
 οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαιίτας  
 καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μήδων δὲ  
 ἔχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον  
 Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζηνίους καὶ Δεπρείτας  
 τε καὶ Γίρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλει-  
 ασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδούς· οὗτοι  
 δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἐρετρίέας καὶ  
 Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἔχομένους  
 Σάκας ἔταξε, οἱ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιήτας τε καὶ  
 Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ  
 Λίγυνήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἔχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία  
 Ἀθηγαίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων  
 Βοιωτοῦς τε καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Μηλέας τε καὶ  
 Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὁρ-  
 ἀπαίτεροι οἱ Φωκέες ἐμήδεσαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν  
 καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὔξον περὶ τὸν Παρησσόν  
 κατειλημένας, καὶ ἐνθεῦτες ὄρμόμενοι ἐφερόν τε  
 καὶ ἤγον τὴν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς  
 μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔσντας Ἑλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακε-

mourning for Masistius, and heard that the Greeks were at Plataeae, they also came to the part of the Asopus river nearest to them. When they were there they were arrayed for battle by Mardonius as I shall show. He posted the Persians facing the Lacedaemonians; and seeing that the Persians by far outnumbered the Lacedaemonians, they were arrayed in deeper ranks and their line ran fronting the Tegeans also. In his arraying of them he chose out the strongest part of the Persians to set it over against the Lacedaemonians, and posted the weaker by them facing the Tegeans; this he did being so informed and taught by the Thebans. Next to the Persians he posted the Medes, fronting the men of Corinth and Potidaea and Oreohomenus and Sicyon; next to the Medes, the Bactrians, fronting the men of Epidaurus, Troezen, Lepreum, Tiryns, Mycenae, and Phlius. After the Bactrians he set the Indians, fronting the men of Hermione and Eretria and Styra and Chalcis. Next to the Indians he posted the Sacae, fronting the Ampraciots, Anaetorians, Leucadians, Paeans, and Aeginetans; next to the Sacae, and over against the Athenians and Platæans and Megarians, the Bogetians and Locrians and Malians and Thessalians and the thousand that came from Phœols; for not all the Phœcians took the Persian part, but some of them gave their aid to the Greek cause; these had been beleaguered on Parnassus, and issued out from thence to harry Mardonius' army and the Greeks that were with him. Besides these,

## HERODOTUS

δύνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους  
κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναῖς.

32. Ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἔθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ἀνύ-  
μασται τῷ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τὰ περ  
ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου· ἐνῆσαν  
δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνέων ἀνδρες ἀναμεμηρένοι, Φρυγῶν  
τε καὶ Θρηίκων καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιώνων καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων  
οἱ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι  
μαχαιροφόροι, οἱ περ εἰσὶ Λιγυπτίων μοῦνοι  
μάχιμοι. τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἔων ἀπὸ  
τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο λόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ  
ἔτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἄρα Ξέρξῃ ἀπι-  
κόμενον ἐς Ἀθῆνας Λιγύπτιοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ  
Βαρβάρων ἡσαν τριηκούτα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρό-  
τερον δεδίλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου  
συμμάχων οἵδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν οὐ γὰρ ὡν  
ἡριθμηθῆσαν· ὡς δὲ ἐπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας  
συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες  
πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος χιωρὶς ἑτέτακτο.

33. Ως δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἑτετάχατο κατὰ ἔθνεα  
καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαύτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἔθύσοντο  
καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἐλλησι μὲν Τισαμένος Ἀντιόχου  
ἥν ὁ θυόμενος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἶπετο τῷ στρατεύ-  
ματι τούτῳ μάντις· τὸν ἔοντα Ἦλειον καὶ γέρεος  
τοῦ Ἱαμιδέων [Κλυτιάδην] Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποιή-  
σαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμένῳ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ  
ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου ἀνεῖδε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας  
τοὺς μεγίστους ἀνατριήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian military classes mentioned in Bk. II, III.

<sup>2</sup> The Iamidae were a priestly family, the members of

be arrayed against the Athenians Macedonians also and the dwellers about Thessaly.

32. These that I have named were the greatest of the nations set in array by Mardonius that were of most note and account; but there was also in the army a mixed multitude of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paeonians, and the rest, besides Ethiopians and the Egyptian swordsmen called Hermotybies and Calasiries,<sup>1</sup> who are the only fighting men in Egypt. These had been fighters on shipboard, till Mardonius while yet at Phalerum disembarked them from their ships; for the Egyptians were not appointed to serve in the land army which Xerxes led to Athens. Of the foreigners, then, there were three hundred thousand, as I have already shown; as for the Greek allies of Mardonius, none knows the number of them, for they were not counted; but as far as guessing may serve, I suppose them to have been mustered to the number of fifty thousand. These were the footmen that were set in array; the cavalry were separately ordered.

33. When they had all been arrayed in their nations and their battalions, on the second day thereafter both armies offered sacrifice. For the Greeks, Tisamenus it was that sacrificed; for he was with their army as a diviner; he was an Elean by birth, a Clytiad of the Iamid clan,<sup>2</sup> and the Lacedaemonians gave him the freedom of their city. For when Tisamenus was inquiring of the oracle at Delphi concerning issue, the priestess prophesied to him that he should win five great victories. Not under-

which were found in all parts of Hellas. The Clytiadæ were also Eleian priests, but quite separate from the Iamidae; so Stein is probably right in bracketing Κλυτιάδαι.

## HERODOTUS

άμαρτων τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσεῖχε γυμνασίουσι  
ώς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικούς ἄγωνας, ἀσκέων δὲ  
πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμι ἔδραμε νικᾶν  
Ολυμπιάδα. Ιερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀιδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐν ἕρι,  
λικεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθοῦτες οὐκ ἐν γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ᾽  
ἐν ἀρηίους ἄγῶνας φέροι τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήιον,  
μισθῷ ἐπειρῶντα πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν πιέσσαντας  
ἄμα Ἡρακλειβέων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν  
πολέμων. ὃ δὲ ὄρεων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους  
Σπαρτιῆτας φίλοιν αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν  
τοῦτο ἀνετίμα, σημαίνων σφι τῷ ἦν μιν πολιότην  
σφέτεροι ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες,  
ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ' οὗ. Σπαρτιῆται  
δὲ πρώτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐπαιεῦντο καὶ  
μετίεσαν τῆς χρισμοσύνης τὰ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ  
δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ  
τούτου στρατεύματος καταίνεον μετιόντες. ὃ δὲ  
γνῶν τετραμένους σφέας οὖδ' οὕτω ἔτι ἔφη  
ἀρκέεσθαι ταῦτοισι μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι τὸν  
ἀδελφεὸν ἐωτοῦ Ήγίην γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιῆτην  
ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.

34. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὕτοι ἐμμέσετο Μελάρποδα,  
οὓς εἰκάσας βασιληήν τε καὶ πολεμήην αἰτεομέ-  
ρουν, καὶ γδρ δὴ καὶ Μελάρπους τῶν ἐν "Λργεῖ  
γυναικῶν μανεισάντων, ὡς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμασθοῦντο  
ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναικας τῆς  
ρούσου, μισθὸν προετείνατο τῆς βασιληήης τὸ  
ῆμαστυ. οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἀλλ'  
ἀπίστων, ὡς ἐμπίνοντο πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν,

<sup>1</sup> The five events of the Pentathlum were running, jumping,  
wrestling, and throwing of the spear and the discus.

standing that oracle, he betook himself to bodily exercises, thinking so to win in such-like sports; and having trained himself for the Five Contests,<sup>1</sup> he came within one wrestling bout of winning the Olympic prize, in a match with Hieronymus of Andros. But the Lacedaemonians perceived that the oracle given to Tisamenus spake of the lists not of sport but of war; and they essayed to bribe Tisamenus to be a leader in their wars, jointly with their kings of Heracles' line. But when he saw that the Spartans set great store by his friendship, with this knowledge he set his price higher, and made it known to them that for no reward would he do their will save for the gift of full citizenship and all a citizen's rights. Hearing that, the Spartans at first were angry and ceased wholly from their request; but when the dreadful menace of this Persian host overhung them they consented and granted his demand. But when he saw their purpose changed, he said that not even so and with that only would he be content; his brother Hegesias too must be made a Spartan on the same terms as himself.

34. By so saying he imitated Melampus, in so far as one may compare demands for kingship and for citizenship. For when the women of Argos had gone mad, and the Argives would fain hire him to come from Pylos and heal them of that madness,<sup>2</sup> Melampus demanded half of their kingship for his wages; which the Argives could not suffer, and so departed; but when the madness spread among their women,

\* According to the legend, the Argive women were driven mad by Dionysus for refusing to take part in his orgies, and cured by Melampus. Many Greek authors refer to it, with varying details.

## HERODOTUS

οὗτῳ δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μεδίμπους προετείνατο  
ἥσαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα. ὃ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπο-  
ρέγεται ὄρεων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φάε, ἢν μὴ  
καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Βίαντι μεταβῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον  
τῆς βασιληγίης, οὐ ποιήσειν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ  
Ἄργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταινέοντι καὶ  
ταῦτα.

35. Ὡς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἔδεοντο γὰρ δειπνὸς  
τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντας συρεχώρεόν οἱ. συγχωρη-  
σάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, αὐτῷ δὴ  
πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους  
Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἡλεῖος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης,  
συγκαταιρέει. μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρωπῶν  
ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτησι πολιῆται. οἱ δὲ  
πέντε ἀγῶνες οἵδε ἐγένοντα, εἰς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος  
οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς  
Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ  
ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν  
Μαρτινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰθώμην,  
ὑστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε  
καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ὑστατος  
κατεργασθῆ τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

36. Οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἐλλησι ὁ Τισαμενός,  
ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἐμαυτεύετο ἐν τῇ  
Πλαταιῇσι. τοῖσι μέν τοις Ἐλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο  
τὰ ἵρα ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν  
καὶ μάχης ἀρχοντι σὸν.

37. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἀρχειν  
οὐκ ἐπιτίχεσσι ἐγίνετο τὰ ἵρα, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ  
τούτῳ καλύ. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἐλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι  
ἔχρατο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἕγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἄλεῖν

thereat they promised what Melampus demanded and were ready to give it to him. Thereupon, seeing their purpose changed, he asked yet more, and said that he would not do their will except they gave a third of their kingship to his brother Bias; and the Argives, driven thus into a strait, consented to that also.

35. Thus the Spartans too were so eagerly desirous of winning Tisamenus that they granted all his demand. When they had granted him this also, then did Tisamenus of Elis, now become a Spartan, ply his divination for them and aid them to win five very great victories. None on earth save Tisamenus and his brother ever became citizens of Sparta. Now the five victories were these: one, the first, this victory at Plataeae; next that which was won at Tegea over the Tegeans and Argives; after that, over all the Arcadians save the Mantineans at Dipaea; next, over the Messenians at Ithome; lastly, the victory at Tanagra over the Athenians and Argives, which was the last won of the five victories.<sup>1</sup>

36. This Tisamenus had now been brought by the Spartans and was the diviner of the Greeks in the lands of Plataeae. Now the sacrifices boded good to the Greeks if they should but defend themselves, but evil if they should cross the Asopus and be the first to attack.

37. But Mardonius' sacrifices also boded nought to his liking if he should be zealous to attack first, and good if he should but defend himself; for he too used the Greek manner of sacrifice; Hegesistratus

<sup>1</sup> The battle at Ithome was apparently in the third Messenian war; that at Tanagra, in 457 B.C. (Thucyd. i. 107). Nothing is known of the battles at Tegea and Dipaea.

## HERODOTUS

τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέσιν ἔοντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεποιθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὃ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἔχόμενος, μιστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς Φυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἔργυτα πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν σταθμησάμενος γάρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τοὺς ταρσὸν ἐωιτοῦν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρῃ ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὄλην καὶ αὐλεζόμενος, οὕτω ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ διξημένων τρίτη εὐφρόνη γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγεῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θωματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῷ τε τόλμῃ, ὄρωντας τὸ ἥμιτον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κίκείνοις οὐδὲ ναμένοντι εὑρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὗτῳ διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἔσσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἵγιης δὲ γειόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς Ἰθέης Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος. οὐ μέντοι ἐς τέλος οἱ συνηγεικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον· ἥδη γάρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.

38. 'Ο μέντοι θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιαστράτου ὑπερογ ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταικῶν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Λσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγουν ἔθυετε τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατά τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ

of Elis was his diviner, the most notable of the sons of Tellias. This man had been put in prison and doomed to die by the Spartans for the much harm that he had done them. Being in this evil case, inasmuch as he was in peril of his life and like to be very grievously maltreated ere his death, he did a deed well nigh past believing: being made fast in iron-bound stocks, he got an iron weapon that was brought in some wise into his prison, and straightway conceived a plan of such hardihood as we have never known: reckoning how best the rest of it might get free, he cut off his own foot at the instep. This done, he burrowed through the wall out of the way of the guards that kept ward over him, and so escaped to Tegea; all night he journeyed and all day he hid and lay close in the woods, till on the third night he came to Tegea, while all the people of Lacedaemon sought him; and they were greatly amazed, seeing the half of his foot cut off and lying there, but not being able to find the man himself. Thus did he then escape from the Lacedaemonians and take refuge in Tegen, which at that time was unfriendly to Lacedaemon; and after he was healed and had made himself a foot of wood, he declared himself an open enemy of the Lacedaemonians. Yet the enmity that he bore them brought him no good at the last; for they caught him at his divinations in Zacynthos, and slew him.

38. Howbeit, the death of Hegesistratus happened after the Platcean business; at the present he was by the Asopus, hired by Mardonius for no small wage, where he sacrificed and wrought zealously, both for the hatred he bore the Lacedaemonians,

## HERODOTUS

κατὰ τὸ κέρδος. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι  
οὔτε αὐτοῖς· Πέρσησι οὔτε ταῖσι μετ' ἔκειτων ἑοῦσι  
Ἐλλήνων (εἰχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ' ἐωτῶν μάχην  
Ἴππομαχοῖς Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα), ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ τῷ  
Ἐλλήνων καὶ γιγαντῶν πλεύνων, Τιμητεῖδης ὁ  
Ἐρπυνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ  
τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιβαιρῶνος φυλάξαι, λέγον ὡς  
ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἐλλῆνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην  
καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψοιτο συχνούν.

39. Ἡμέραι δέ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἥδη ἐγε-  
γόνεσαν ὀκτώ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἔκειτος συνεβούλευε  
Μαρδονίφ. ὃ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίτεται εὖ ἔχουσαν,  
ὡς εὐφρότη ἐγένετο, πεμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς  
ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιβαιρωνίδας αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων  
φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι,  
Λθηραῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλάς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ  
ἰππέται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ δε  
τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγια τε πεντακόσια,  
σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρα-  
τόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ εἶποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι.  
ἔλοντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἀγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως  
ἔφονευσον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδεγέδε  
οὔτε ἀνθρώπουν. ὡς δὲ ἀδην εἰχον κτείνοντες, τὰ  
λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἥλαινον περιβαλόμενοι παρὰ τε  
Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

40. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐτέρας δύο ἡμέρας  
διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχην ἀρξαν-  
μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήισαν οἱ βύρβαροι  
πειρώμενοι τῷν Ἐλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι.  
ἡ μέντοι ἵππος ἡ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσέκειτο τε  
καὶ ἐλύπτεε τοὺς Ἐλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἀτε  
μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλε-  
206

and for gain. But when no favourable omens for battle could be won either by the Persians themselves or by the Greeks that were with them (for they too had a diviner of their own, Hippomachus of Leucas), and the Greeks the while were ever flocking in and their army grew, Timagenides son of Herpys, a Theban, counselled Mardonius to guard the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron, telling him that the Greeks were ever flocking in daily and that he would thereby cut off many of them.

39. The armies had now lain over against each other for eight days when he gave this counsel. Mardonius perceived that the advice was good; and when night had fallen he sent his horsemen to the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron that leads towards Plataeae, which pass the Boeotians call the Three Heads, and the Athenians the Oaks' Heads. This despatch of the horsemen was no fruitless one; for they caught five hundred beasts of burden issuing into the low country, bringing provision from the Peloponnese for the army, and men that came with the waggons; having taken which quarry the Persians slew without mercy, sparing neither man nor beast. When they had their fill of slaughter, they set what remained in their midst and drove them to Mardonius and his camp.

40. After this deed they waited two days more, neither side desiring to begin the battle; for though the foreigners came to the Asopus to make trial of the Greeks' purpose, neither army crossed it. Howbeit Mardonius' horse was ever besetting and troubling the Greeks; for the Thebans, in their zeal for the Persian part, waged war heartily, and

## HERODOTUS

μον καὶ αἱεὶ κατηγέορτο μέχρι μάχης, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἱ ἀπεδείκνυτο ἀρετάς.

41. Μέχρι μὲν ων τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, οἵ τε δὴ "Ἐλληνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτες τῇ ἔδρᾳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐξ λόγους ἥλθον Μαρδόνιοις τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, δις ἐν δλίγοισι Περσέων ἦν ἀγῆρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. Βουλευομένων δὲ αὐτεῖς ησαν αἱ γυνῶματι, ἣ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἱέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαῖων, ἐνθα σῖτόν τέ σφι ἐσενημεῖχθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτου τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι, κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἰζομένοις διαπρήσσεσθαι ποιεῦντας ταῦτα ἔχειν γάρ χριστὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἀσημον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων φειδομένους μηδετὸς διαπέμπειν ἐν τούτῃ "Ἐλληνας, Ἐλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παριδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην· μηδὲ ἀνακινητεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τούτου μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαῖων γυνῆ, ὡς προειδότας πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἴσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμανεστέρη καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινώσκομένη· δοκεῖειν τε γάρ πολλῷ κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς Ἐλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην μηδὲ περιορᾶν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλελεγμένων, τὰ τε σφάγια τὰ Ἰηγασι-

were ever guiding the horsemen to the encounter; thereafter it was the turn of the Persians and Medes, and they and none other would do deeds of valour.

41. Until the ten days were past no more was done than this; but on the eleventh day from their first encampment over against each other, the Greeks growing greatly in number and Mardonius being sore vexed by the delay, there was a debate held between Mardonius son of Gobryus and Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who stood as high as but few others in Xerxes' esteem; and their opinions in council were as I will show. Artabazus held it best that they should strike their camp with all speed and lead the whole army within the walls of Thebes, where they had much provision stored and fodder for their beasts of burden, and where they could sit at their ease and despatch the business by taking the great store they had of gold, minted and other, and silver and drinking-cups, and sending all this without stint to all places in Hellas, but especially to the chief men in the cities of Hellas; let them do this (said he) and the Greeks would quickly surrender their liberty; but let not the Persians risk the event of a battle. This opinion of his was the same as the Thebans', inasmuch as he too had especial foreknowledge; but Mardonius' counsel was more vehement and intemperate and nowise leaning to moderation; for (said he) he deemed that their army was by much stronger than the Greeks', and that they should give battle with all speed, and not suffer yet more Greeks to muster than were mustered already; as for the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, let them pay no heed to these, nor

## HERODOTUS

τράτου ἔαν χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ  
τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.

42. Τούτου δὲ οὗτῳ δικαιεῖντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδέποτε ἐκράτεε τὴν γράμμην τὸ γάρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάραξος. μεταπεμψάμενος ὡς τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἑωυτοῦ ἔργων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἰδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. σιγῶντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλητῶν, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μὲν ἐν ἀδείᾳ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἐλεγε "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ήταντε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εὑν ἐπιστάμενος· ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεὸν ἔστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἴρον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὕτε ἴμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἴρον τοῦτο οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε εἰνεκα τῆς αἰτίης οὐκ ἀπολεθμεθα. ὅστε ὑμέων δοι τυγχάνουσι εὖνοι εἴντες Πέρσητι, ἥδεσθε τοῦδε εἰνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων." ταῦτα σφι εἴπας δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέεσθαι τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέεσθαι ὡς ἀμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

43. Τούτον δ' ἐγώντε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐν Ἰλλυριούς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγγελέων στρατὸν οἵδια πεποιημένον, ἀλλ'

<sup>1</sup> Lit. to do violence, compel the gods, like "superos votis fatigare" in Latin.

seek to wring good from them,<sup>1</sup> but rather give battle after Persian custom.

42. None withstood this argument, so that his opinion prevailed; for it was he and not Artabazus who was generalissimo of the army by the king's commission. He sent therefore for the leaders of the battalions and the generals of those Greeks that were with him, and asked them if they knew any oracle which prophesied that the Persians should perish in Hellas. They that were summoned said nought, some not knowing the prophecies, and some knowing them but deeming it perilous to speak; then said Mardonius himself: "Since, therefore, you either have no knowledge or are afraid to declare it, hear what I tell you out of the full knowledge that I have. There is an oracle that Persians are fated to come to Hellas and there all perish after they have plundered the temple at Delphi. We, therefore, knowing this same oracle, will neither approach that temple nor essay to plunder it; and in so far as destruction hangs on that, none awaits us. Wherefore as many of you as wish the Persians well may rejoice for that, as knowing that we shall overcome the Greeks." Having thus spoken he gave command to have all prepared and set in fair order for the battle that should be joined at the next day's dawn.

43. Now for this prophecy, which Mardonius said was spoken of the Persians, I know it to have been made concerning not them but the Illyrians and the

## HERODOTUS

οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην  
τὴν μάχην ἔστι πεποιημένα.

τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίη  
Ἐλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνος ἴνγῆν,  
τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ λιγέσιν τε μορον τε  
τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἰσιμον ἥμαρ ἐπέλθῃ,  
ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἀλλα Μου-  
σαῖ φέροντα οἴδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων  
ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλισαντος.

44. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ  
παραίρεσιν τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου τοῦξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ  
ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτύσσοντο. ὡς δὲ πρόσφετο τῆς μυκτὸς  
προελήλατο καὶ ἵσυχη ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρα-  
τόπεδα καὶ μᾶλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὑπνῳ,  
τηνικαῦτα προσελλάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς  
τὰς Ἀθηναῖν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγὸς  
τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίζητο τοῖσι  
στρατηγοῖσι ἐν λόγους ἐλθεῖν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων  
οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες παρέμενον, οἱ δὲ ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς  
στρατηγούς. ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐλεγον ὡς ἀρθρωπος  
ἥκοι ἐπ ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Μήδων,  
ὅς ἀλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῖ ἐπος, στρατηγούς  
δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐν λόγους ἐλθεῖν.

45. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἥκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἶποντο  
ἐν τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἐλεγεῖ Ἀλέ-  
ξανδρος τίδε. “Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθίκην  
ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπεια τίδε τίθεμαι, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύ-

<sup>1</sup> Referring to a legendary expedition of those north-western tribes, directed against Hellas and Delphi in particular.

<sup>2</sup> A little to the N.W. of Thebes.

army of the Enchelees.<sup>1</sup> But there is a prophecy made by Baeis concerning this battle :

By Thermoden's stream and the grassgrown banks  
of Asopus  
Muster of Greeks for fight, and the ring of a  
foreigner's war-cry,  
Many a Median archer by death untimely o'er-  
taken  
There in the battle shall fall when the day of his  
doom is upon him;

this prophecy, and others like to it that were made by Musaeus, I know to have been spoken of the Persians. As for the river Thermodon, it flows between Tamagra and Glisas.<sup>2</sup>

44. After this questioning concerning oracles, and Mardonius' exhortation, night came on and the armies posted their sentries. Now when the night was far spent and it seemed that all was still in the camps and the men wrapt in deepest slumber, at that hour Alexander son of Amyntas, the general and king of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian outposts and sought to have speech of their generals. The greater part of the sentries abiding where they were, the rest ran to their generals, and told them that a horseman had ridden in from the Persian camp, imparting no other word save that he would have speech of the generals and called them by their names.

45. Hearing that, the generals straightway went with the men to the outposts; and when they were come Alexander said to them : " Men of Athens, I give you this my message in trust as a secret that

## HERODOTUS

μενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλου ή  
Παυσανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γάρ ἀν  
ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς  
Ἐλλάδος. αὐτός τε γάρ Ἐλλην γένος εἰμὶ<sup>τόντως</sup> τῷρχαιον καὶ ἀντ' ἔλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ  
ἄν θέλοιμι ὄραν τὴν Ἐλλίδα. λέγω δὲ ὃν ὅτι  
Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῷ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ  
δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι πάλαι γάρ ἀν  
ἐμίχεσθε. νῦν δὲ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια  
ἔντι χαίρουν, ἀμ' ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολὴν  
ποιεσθαι καταρρώδηκε γάρ μή πλεῦνες συλ-  
λεχθῆτε, ὡς ἔγδο εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἔτοιμαι-  
ζεσθε. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάλληται τὴν συμβολὴν  
Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέηται. λιπαρέετε μένοντες  
ἀλιγέων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. ἦν δὲ  
ὑμῖν ὁ πάλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μη-  
στήγαι τινὰ χρή καὶ ἐμεῦ ἔλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς  
Ἐλλήνων εἴνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμα  
ὑπὸ προθυμίης, ἔθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶται τὴν διά-  
νοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν  
ἔξαίφνηται οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω-  
τίμι δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών." ὃ μὲν ταῦτα  
εἴπας ἀπῆλαντες ὅπιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ  
τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τάξιν.

46. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες  
ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔλεγον Παυσανίη τά περ  
ἥκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρον. οὐ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ  
καταρρώδησας τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἐπει-  
τοίνυν ἐε ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεόν  
ἔστι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στήγαι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας,  
ὑμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτούς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ'  
ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἐλλήνων, τῶνδε εἴνεκα· ὑμεῖς

you must reveal to none but Pausanias, lest you even be my undoing; in truth I would not tell it to you were it not by reason of my great care for all Hellas; for I myself am by ancient descent a Greek, and I would not willingly see Hellas change her freedom for slavery. I tell you, then, that Mardonius and his army cannot get from the sacrifices omens to his liking; else had you fought long ere this. But now it is his purpose to pay no heed to the sacrifices, and join battle at the first glimmer of dawn; for he is in dread, as I surmise, lest you should muster to a greater host. Therefore I bid you make ready; and if (as may be) Mardonius should delay and not join battle, wait patiently where you are; for he has but a few days' provision left. But if this war end as you would wish, then must you take thought how to save me too from slavery, who of my zeal have done so desperate a deed as this for the cause of Hellas, in my desire to declare to you Mardonius' intent, that so the foreigners may not fall upon you suddenly ere you yet expect them. I that speak am Alexander the Macedonian." With that he rode away back to the camp and his own place therein.

46. The Athenian generals went to the right wing and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander. At the message Pausanias was struck with fear of the Persians, and said: "Since, therefore, the battle is to begin at dawn, it is best that you Athenians should take your stand fronting the Persians, and we fronting the Boeotians and the Greeks that are posted over against you, by reason that you

## HERODOTUS

ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν  
Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπειροί τε εἰμὲν  
καὶ ἀδαέες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν· Σπαρτιῆτέων γάρ  
οὐδεὶς πεπείρυται Μήδων· ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ  
Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροι εἰμέν. ἀλλ' ἀγαλαζόντας τὰ  
ὅπλα χρεόν ἔστι οἴεσθαι ὑμέας μὲν ἐξ τούτου τὸ κέρας,  
ἡμέας δὲ ἐξ τοῦ εὐώνυμου·” πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν  
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε. “Καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ'  
ἀρχῆς, ἐπείτε εἶδομεν κατ' ὑμέας τασσομένους  
τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τὰ περ  
ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ ἀρρωδέομεν μὴ  
ἡμῖν οὐκ ἤδεις γένωνται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρ  
αῦτοι ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἤδομένοιστε ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι  
γεγόναστι καὶ ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν ποιέειν ταῦτα.”

47. Ως δὲ ἡρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, ἵνα τε  
διέφανε καὶ διαλλάσσωντα τὰς τάξεις. γρύοντες  
δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοί τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρ-  
δούιο. ὃ δὲ ἐπείτε ἥκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ  
αὐτὸς ἐπειράτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ  
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὡς δὲ ἐμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο  
γυνόμενον ὁ Πανσανίης, γνοὺς διτὶ οὐ λαιθάνει,  
οπίσω ἴγγε τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰν κέρας·  
ὡς δὲ οὗτοις καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐώνυμου.

48. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξεις,  
πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κῆρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας  
ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ω Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε  
εἶναι ἄνδρες ἀριστοί ὑπὸ τῶν τῆρες ἀνθρώπων,  
ἐκπαγλεομένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε  
τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἡ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς  
ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δὲ ἀρ' ἡμεῖς  
ἀληθέες πρὶν γάρ ἡ συμμίξαι ὑμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε  
τύμπον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν

have fought with the Medes at Marathon and know them and their manner of fighting, but we have no experience or knowledge of those men; we Spartans have experience of the Boeotians and Thessalians, but not one of us has put the Medes to the test. Nay, let us take up our equipment and remove, you to this wing and we to the left." "We, too," the Athenians answered, "even from the moment when we saw the Persians posted over against you, had it in mind to make that proffer that now has first come from you; but we feared lest we should displease you by making it. But since you have spoken the wish yourselves, we too hear your words very gladly and are ready to do as you say."

47. Both being satisfied with this, they exchanged their places in the ranks at the first light of dawn. The Boeotians marked that and made it known to Mardonius; who, when he heard, forthwith essayed to make a change for himself also, by moving the Persians along to front the Lacedaemonians. But when Pausanias perceived what was this that was being done, he saw that his act was known, and led the Spartans back to the right wing; and Mardonius did in like manner on the left of his army.

48. When all were at their former posts again, Mardonius sent a herald to the Lacedaemonians with this message: "Men of Lacedaemon, you are said by the people of these parts to be very brave men; it is their boast of you that you neither flee from the field nor leave your post, but abide there and either slay your enemies or are yourselves slain. But it would seem that in all this there is no truth; for ere we can join battle and fight hand to hand, we have seen you even now fleeing and leaving your

## HERODOTUS

έκλείποντας ύμέας εἶδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτούς τε ἀντία δαῦλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστων δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐφεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γάρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δῆ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κύρικα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνοισι Πέρσησι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἔοντες ποιέειν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὑρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώταντας μᾶλλον. νῦν ἀν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἡρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἀρχομεν. τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπειτε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς ἵστοι πρὸς ἴστον ἀριθμὸν ἐμαχεσάμεθα: καὶ ἡμ μὲν δοκέγ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ὁν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοις ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνους ἀποχράν, ὑμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα· ὀκότεροι δὲ ἀν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτοντι τῷ ἀπαντι στρατοπέδῳ ικάνοις."

49. "Ο μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ὃς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὑπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσῆμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὃ δὲ περιχαρής γενόμενος καὶ ἐπιερθεὶς ψυχρῷ τίκη ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπῆλασταν οἱ ἵπποται, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντές τε καὶ τοξεύοντες ὥστε ἵπποτοξέσται τε ἔοντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἀποροι· τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἣς ὑδρείετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἵσαν μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη πρόστις ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἔκαστοι ἐτυχούν τεταγμένοι, ο

station, using Athenians for the first assay of your enemy, and arraying yourselves over against those that are but our slaves. This is no brave men's work; nay, we have been grievously mistaken in you; for by what we heard of you, we looked that you should send us a herald challenging the Persians and none other to fight with you; and that we were ready to do; but we find you making no such proffer, but rather quailing before us. Now, therefore, since the challenge comes not from you, take it from us instead. What binders that we should fight with equal numbers on both sides, you for the Greeks (since you have the name of being their best), and we for the foreigners? and if it be willed that the others fight also, let them fight later after us; but if contrariwise it be willed that we alone suffice, then let us fight it out, and which side soever wins, let that serve as a victory for the whole army."

49. Thus proclaimed the herald; and when he had waited awhile and none made him any answer, he departed back again, and at his return told Mardonius what had befallen him. Mardonius was overjoyed thereat and proud of this semblance of victory, and sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks. The horsemen rode at them and shot arrows and javelins among the whole Greek army to its great hurt, inasmuch as they were mounted archers and ill to close with; and they troubled and choked the Gargaphian spring, whence all the army of the Greeks drew its water. None indeed but the Lacedaemonians were posted near the spring, and it was far from the several stations of the other Greeks,

## HERODOTUS

δὲ Ἀσωπὸν ἀγχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι δέ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ  
οὖτα δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἔφοίτων ἀπὸ τοῦ πο-  
ταμοῦ γάρ σφι οὐκ ἔξην ὑδωρ φορέεσθαι· ὑπό τε  
τῶν ἵππεων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

50. Τούτου δὲ τοιουτου γενομένου οἱ τῶν Ἐλ-  
λήνων στρατηγοί, ἀτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης  
τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης,  
συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε ταύτων καὶ ἄλλων,  
διλθόντες παρὰ Παυσανίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας.  
ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων ἔόντων μᾶλλον σφέας  
ἐλύπεε· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἵ τε σφέων  
ὑπέωντες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἡς  
ἐπιστιεύμενοι ἀπεκεκληγάτο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ  
ἔνυμένοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

51. Βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε,  
ἥν ὑπερβάλωσσαι ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι  
συμβολὴν ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν ρῆσσον λέναι. Ἡ δὲ  
ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαρ-  
γαφίης, ἐπ' ἣ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα στα-  
βέους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος.  
ιῆσος δὲ οὗτῳ ἀν εἴη ἐν ἡπείρῳ σχιζόμενος ὁ  
ποταμὸς ἀνυθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος βέει κάτω ἐς  
τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα δύον  
περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἐπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τὸντό.  
οὖνομα δέ οἱ Περόη· θυγατέρα δέ ταυτην λέγουσι  
εἰναι Ἀσωπὸν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν  
χῶρον ἐβούλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὑδατὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἵππεες σφέας μὴ

<sup>1</sup> Several streams flow N. or N.W. from Cithaeron, and unite eventually to form the small river Oeroe. Between two of these there is a long strip of land, which is perhaps

whereas the Asopus was near; but they would ever go to the spring, because they were barred from the Asopus, not being able to draw water from that river by reason of the horsemen and the arrows.

50. In this turn of affairs, seeing that their army was cut off from water and disordered by the horsemen, the generals of the Greeks betook themselves to Pausanias on the right wing, and debated concerning this and other matters; for there were other causes that troubled them more than what I have told; they had no food left, and their followers whom they had sent into the Peloponnesus to bring provision thence had been cut off by the horsemen, and could not make their way to the army.

51. So they resolved in their council that if the Persians delayed through that day to give battle, they would go to the Island.<sup>3</sup> This is ten furlongs distant from the Asopus and the Gargaphian spring, whereby their army then lay, and in front of the town of Plataeae. It is like to an island on dry land, by reason that the river in its course down from Cithaeron into the plain is parted into two channels, and there is about three furlongs' space between till presently the two channels unite again; and the name of that river is Oeroë, who (say the people of the country) was the daughter of Asopus. To that place then they planned to remove, that they might have water in plenty for their use, and not be harmed by the

<sup>3</sup> the νῆσος; but it is not now actually surrounded by water, as Herodotus describes it.

For some notice of controversy about the battlefield of Plataea, see the Introduction to this volume.

## HERODOTUS

σινοίατο ὥσπερ κατέθν ἔστων μετακινέοσθαι τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ἡ δευτέρη φυλακή, ἀς ἀν μὴ ἴδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἔξορμωμένους καὶ σφεας ἐπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἵπποται. ἀπικορέ-  
νων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἡ Ἀσωπὸς  
Ιερόη περίσχιζεται ρέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος,  
ἴπο τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀπο-  
στέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα,  
ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὄπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία  
οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γάρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολε-  
λαμμένοι.

52. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κείνην μὲν τὴν  
ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου εἶχον  
πόνον ἀτρυτον· ὡς δὲ ἡ τε ἡμέρη ἐληγγε καὶ οἱ  
ἵππεις ἐπέπαιντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γυρομένης καὶ ἐούσῃς  
τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτο σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι,  
ἐνθαῦτα μεριθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς  
μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες,  
οὐ δὲ ὡς ἐκινήθησαν ἐφευγον ἀσμένοι τὴν ἵππον  
πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φείγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέον-  
ται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραιον· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς  
Πλαταιέων, εἰκοστα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς  
Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ  
ἴρον τὰ ὅπλα.

53. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἡραιον ἐστρατοπε-  
δεύοντο, Παυσανίης δὲ ὄρῶν σφεας ἀπαλλασσό-  
μένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρίγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι  
Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἴέραι κατὰ  
τοὺς ἄλλους ταὺς προίόντας, γομίσας αὐτοῖς ἐς  
τὸν χῶρον ἴέραι ἐς τὸν συνεθίκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ  
μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεοσθαι  
Παυσανίη, Ἀμορφάρετος δὲ οἱ Πολιάδεω λοχη-

horsemen, as now when they were face to face ; and they resolved to make their removal in the second watch of the night, lest the Persians should see them setting forth and the horsemen press after them and disorder their array. Further, they resolved that when they were come to that place, which is encircled by the divided channels of Asopus' daughter Oeroë as she flows from Cithaeron, they would in that night send half of their army to Cithaeron, to fetch away their followers who were gone to get the provision ; for these were cut off from them on Cithaeron.

52. Having formed this design, all that day they suffered unending hardship from the cavalry that continually beset them ; but when the day ended and the horsemen ceased from troubling, then at that hour of the night whereat it was agreed that they should depart the most of them arose and took their departure, not with intent to go to the place whereon they had agreed ; instead of that, once they were afoot they got quit to their great content of the horsemen, and escaped to the town of Plataeae, and came in their flight to the temple of Hera which is without that town, twenty furlongs distant from the Gargaphian spring ; thither they came, and piled their arms before the temple.

53. So they encamped about the temple of Hera. But Pausanias, seeing their departure from the camp, gave orders to the Lacedaemonians to take up their arms likewise and follow after the others that went before, supposing that these were making for the place whither they had agreed to go. Thereupon, all the rest of the captains being ready to obey Pausanias, Anompharetus son of Poliades, the leader

## HERODOTUS

γέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐκίνω εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐθώμαζέ τε ὁρέων τὸ ποιεύμενον ἂτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Πανσανίης τε καὶ ὁ Εύρυάναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ μὴ τεθεσθαι ἐκεῖνον σφίστι, δεινότερον δὲ ἦτι, κείνον ταῦτ' ἀναινομένου, ἀπολίπειν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανῆτην, μὴ ἡν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθή· καντο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι "Ἐλλησι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεῖς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας είχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μηρ ὡς οὐ χρέον εἶη ταῦτα ποιέειν.

54. Καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον μοῦνον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγευτέων λελειμένον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίευν τοιάδε· εἷχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵτα ἐπάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων· ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐπειπον σφέων ἴπτέα ὄψόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειρέοιεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῖνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Πανσανίην τὸ χρέον εἶη ποιέειν.

55. Ως δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τε σφέας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους καὶ ἡς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς γάρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον δ τε Εύρυάναξ καὶ ὁ Πανσανίης μὴ κινδυτεύειν μένορτας μούνους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὗ καὶ ἐπειθον, ἐς ὁ

of the Pitane<sup>1</sup> battalion, refused to flee from the strangers or (save by compulsion) bring shame on Sparta; the whole business seemed strange to him, for he had not been present in the council lately held. Pausanias and Euryanax liked little enough that Amompharetus should disobey them; but they disliked yet more that his refusing should compel them to abandon the Pitane battalion; for they feared that if they fulfilled their agreement with the rest of the Greeks and abandoned him, Amompharetus and his men would be left behind to perish. Thus considering, they held the Laconian army unmoved, and strove to persuade Amompharetus that he did not aright.

54. So they reasoned with Amompharetus, he being the only man left behind of all the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans. As for the Athenians, they stood unmoved at their post, well knowing that the purposes and the promises of Lacedaemonians were not alike. But when the army removed from its place, they sent a horseman of their own who should see if the Spartans were essaying to march or if they were wholly without any purpose of departure, and should ask Pausanias what the Athenians must do.

55. When the messenger was come to the Lacedaemonians, he saw them arrayed where they had been, and their chief men by now in hot dispute. For though Euryanax and Pausanias reasoned with Amompharetus, that the Lacedaemonians should not be imperilled by abiding there alone, they could in no

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides (1. 20) denies the existence of a Πιτανάς λόχος as a formal part of the Spartan army; it is not clear what Herodotus means. For Pitane v. iii. 65.

## HERODOTUS

ές νεικεῖ τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἀπιγμένος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι χερσὶ καὶ τίθεις πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίεω ταύτη τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἐφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, λέγων τοὺς θαρβύρους. οὐδὲ μανόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἔκεινον, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, ἔχρηξέ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρῆσαι τε πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς καὶ ποιέειν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τά περ ἄν καὶ σφεῖς.

56. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἡῶς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Παυσανίης, οὐδὲ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημῆνας ἀπῆργε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἶπορτο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἦσαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἡ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὅχθων ἀπτείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

57. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχὴν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Παυσανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιεχετο αὐτοῦ μέροντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθέργ τέχνη ἀπολείπειν αὐτόν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν

wise prevail with him; and at the last, when the Athenian messenger came among them, hot words began to pass; and in this wrangling Amompharetus took up a stone with both hands and cast it down before Pausanias' feet, crying that it was his pebble wherewith he voted against fleeing from the strangers (meaning thereby the foreigners). Pausanias called him a madman and distraught; then the Athenian messenger putting the question wherewith he was charged, he bade the man tell the Athenians of his present condition, and prayed them to join themselves to the Lacedaemonians and do as they did in respect of departure.

56. So the messenger went back to the Athenians. But when dawn found the dispute still continuing, Pausanias having all this time held his army halted, now gave the word and led all the rest away between the hillocks, the Tegeans following; for he supposed that Amompharetus would not stay behind when the rest of the Lacedaemonians left him; and indeed such was the event. The Athenians set themselves in array and marched, but not by the same way as the Lacedaemonians, who clung close to the broken ground and the lower slopes of Cithaeron, to escape from the Persian horse, but the Athenians marched down into the plain instead.

57. Now Amompharetus at first supposed that Pausanias would never have the heart to leave him and his men, and he was instant that they should remain where they were and not quit their post; but when Pausanias' men went forward on their way, he deemed that they had left him in good earnest, and so bidding his battalion take up its

## HERODOTUS

λόχον τὰ ὅπλα ἡγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στῖφος· τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὸν ὃσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμορφοφέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόειτα ἴδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιάν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῷ καὶ Δήμητρας Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἦσται. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἶνεκα, ἵνα ἦν μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμορφάρετός τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθέοι ὅπίσω παρ' ἔκείνους· καὶ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμορφάρεταν παρεγύρουντα σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν Βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα· οἱ γὰρ ἵπποι ταῖς ἐποίειν οἷον καὶ ἐώθεσαν παιέειν αἰεὶ, ιδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἑλληνες τῇσι προτέρησι ἡμέρησι, ἥλιαννον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω παῖς καταλαβόντες προσέκέατο σφι.

58. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀποιχομένους ὑπὸ νύκτα εἰδέ τε τὸν χῶρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισαῖον Θάρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Εύρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδίηον ἐλέγει “Ο παῖδες Ἀλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὄρῳτες ἔρημα: ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φείγετε ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρας εἴητε τὰ πολέμια πρώτους τοὺς πρότερόν τε μετισταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἰδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τῆς παροιχομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὄρῳμεν διαδράντας διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχῃ διακριθῆναι, δτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἔοντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἔοῦσι Ἑλλησι ἐναπεδεκύνατο. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἔοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλὴ ἐκ γε ὑμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπανεοντιον τούτους τοῖσι τι καὶ συνηδέατε Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι

arms he led it at a foot's pace after the rest of the column; which having gone as far as ten furlongs away was waiting for Amompharetus, halting by the stream Molois and the place called Argiopium, where is set a shrine of Eleusinian Demeter. The reason of their waiting was that, if Amompharetus and his battalion should not leave the place where it was posted but abide there still, they might return and succour him. No sooner had Amompharetus' men come up than the foreigners' cavalry attacked the army; for the horsemen did according as they had ever been wont, and when they saw no enemy on the ground where the Greek array had been on the days before this, they rode ever forward and attacked the Greeks as soon as they overtook them.

58. When Mardonius learnt that the Greeks had departed under cover of night, and saw the ground deserted, he called to him Thraex of Larissa and his brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeius, and said: "What will you now say, sons of Alcetas! when you see this place deserted? for you, who are their neighbours, ever told me that Lacedaemonians fled from no battlefield and were surpassing masters of war; yet these same men you lately saw changing from their post, and now you and all of us see that they have fled away in the night that is past; no sooner must they measure themselves in battle with those that are in very truth the bravest on earth, than they plainly showed that they are men of no account, and all other Greeks likewise. Now you for your part were strangers to the Persians, and I could readily pardon you for praising these fellows, who were in some sort known to you; but I marvelled much more at Artabazus, that he should be

## HERODOTUS

λακεδαιμονίους καταρρωδήσαιτά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὡς χρεὸν εἶη ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἵεναι ἐς τὸ Θηβαῖον ἀστυ πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βαπτιλεὺς πεύσεται· καὶ τούτων μὲν ἑτέρῳθι ἔσται λόγος, νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἔστι, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας."

59. Ταῦτα εἶπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρησκόντων, ἐπεῖχε τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μούνους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὅχθων οὐ κατώρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὄρωντες ὄρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἀρχούτες αὐτίκα πάντες ἥειραν τὰ σημῆνα, καὶ ἔδιωκορ ὡς ποδῶν ἔκαστοι εἶχον, οὕτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι.

60. Καὶ οὗται μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὄμιλῷ ἐπῆισαν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἑλληνας· Παυσανίης δέ, ὡς προσίκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἵππεα λέγει τάδε. Ἡ "Λιδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην είραι ἡ δεδουλωμένη τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ λακεδαιμόνοι καὶ ὡμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην οὐκτα διαδράστων. νῦν δὲ δέοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἀριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μέν νυν ἐς ὑμέας δρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος, χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεῆτας βοηθέειν ὑμῖν· νῦν δέ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἀπασα κεχώ-

so sore affrighted by the Lacedaemonians as to give us a craven's advice to strike our camp, and march away to be beleaguered in Thebes; of which advice the king shall yet learn from me. This shall be matter for speech elsewhere; but now, we must not suffer our enemies to do as they desire; they must be pursued till they be overtaken and pay the penalty for all the harm they have wrought the Persians."

59. With that, he led the Persians at speed across the Asopus in pursuit of the Greeks, supposing that they were in flight; it was the army of Lacedaemon and Tegea alone that was his goal; for the Athenians marched another way over the broken ground, and were out of his sight. Seeing the Persians setting forth in pursuit of the Greeks, the rest of the foreign battalions straightway raised their standards and pursued likewise, each at the top of his speed, no battalion having order in its ranks nor place assigned in the line.

60. So they ran pell-mell and shouting, as though they would utterly make an end of the Greeks; but Pausanias, when the cavalry attacked him, sent a horseman to the Athenians, with this message: "Men of Athens, in this great issue which must give freedom or slavery to Hellas, we Lacedaemonians and you Athenians have been betrayed by the flight of our allies in the night that is past. Now therefore I am resolved what we must forthwith do; we must protect each other by fighting as best we can. If the cavalry had attacked you first, it had been for us and the Tegeans with us, who are faithful to Hellas, to succour you; but now, seeing that the whole

## HERODOTUS

ρηκε, δίκαιοι ἔστε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην  
μᾶλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνόμενος οὐναί. εἰ δὲ ἄρα  
αὐτούς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδόνατόν τι βοηθέειν,  
ὑμεῖς δὲ ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν  
θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα  
τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι,  
ῶστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν."

61. Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὄρμέαπο  
βοηθέειν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν καὶ σφι ἡδη  
στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντίταχθέντες Ἑλλή-  
νων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων, ὥστε μηκέτι  
δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι τὸ γάρ προσκείμενον σφέας  
ἔλύπεε. οὗτῳ δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ  
Τεγεῆται, ἔόντες σὺν φιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἷ μὲν  
πεντακισμύριοι Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὗτοι γάρ  
οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφα-  
γάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ  
στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γάρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ  
σφάγια χρηστά, ἐπιπτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ  
χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐτρωματίζοντο.  
φράξαιτες γάρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίσταρ τῶν  
τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὗτοι ὥστε πιεζο-  
μένων τῶν Σπαρτιητῶν καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινο-  
μένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Παυσανίην πρὸς τὸ  
Ἴραιον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν.  
χρηζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῇς  
ἔπιδος.

62. Ταῦτα δέ ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξ-  
αναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔχώρεον ἐς τοὺς  
Βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα

brunt of their assault falls on us, it is right that you should come to the aid of that division which is hardest pressed. But if, as may be, aught has befallen you whereby it is impossible that you should aid us, yet do us the service of sending us your archers. We are assured that you will hearken to us, as knowing that you have been by far more zealous than all others in this present war."

61. When the Athenians heard that, they essayed to succour the Lacedaemonians and defend them with all their might; but when their march was already begun they were set upon by the Greeks posted over against them, who had joined themselves to the king; wherefore they could now send no aid, being troubled by the foe that was closest. Thus it was that the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans stood alone; men-at-arms and light-armed together, there were of the Lacedaemonians fifty thousand and of the Tegeans, who had never been parted from the Lacedaemonians, three thousand; and they offered sacrifice, the better to join battle with Mardonius and the army that was with him. But as they could get no favourable omen from their sacrifices, and in the meanwhile many of them were slain and by far more wounded (for the Persians set up their shields for a screen, and shot showers of arrows innumerable), it was so, that, the Spartans being hard pressed and their sacrifices of no avail, Pausanias lifted up his eyes to the temple of Hera at Plataeae and called on the goddess, praying that they might nowise be disappointed of their hope.

62. While he yet prayed, the men of Tegea leapt out before the rest and charged the foreigners; and immediately after Pausanias' prayer the sacrifices of

## HERODOTUS

μετὰ τὴν εὐχῆν τὴν Παυσανίεω ἐγίνετο θυσιμένοις τὰ σφάγια χρηστά· ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἔχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντετο. ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἵδη ἐγίνετο ἡ μάχη ἴσχυρή παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνου ἐπὶ πολλού, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκουντο ἐς ἀθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λιματὶ μέρη νυν καὶ ρώμη οὐκ ἡσσονετ ἥσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀνοπλοὶ δὲ ἔντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἥσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίῃν, προεξαίσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἓνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας καὶ διεφθείροντο.

63. Τῇ δὲ ἑτούχαινε αὐτὸς ἐών Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἕπον τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἄριστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μίδιστα τοὺς ἐναρτίους ἐπίεσαν. δσον μέν τυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆρ, οἱ δὲ ἀρτεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμένον ἐφ' ἴσχυρότατον ἐπεσε, οὗτῳ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἰξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. πλεῖστον γὰρ σφέας ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἐσθῆτη ἔρημος ἐοῦσα ὅπλων πρὸς γὰρ ὅπλίτας ἔόντες γυμνῆτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο.

64. Ἐνθαῦτα ἡ τε δίκη τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῖσι Σπαρτιῆται ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο, καὶ νίκην ἀνατρέεται καλλίστην ἀπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότεον τοῦ Ἀραξανδρίδεω· τῷ δὲ κατύπερθέ οἱ προγό-

the Lacedaemonians grew to be favourable; which being at last vouchsafed to them, they too charged the Persians, and the Persians met them, throwing away their bows. And first they fought for the fence of shields; and when that was down, thereafter the battle waxed fierce and long about the temple of Demeter itself, till they grappled and thrust; for the foreigners laid hold of the spears and broke them short. Now the Persians were neither the less valorous nor the weaker; but they had no armour, and moreover they were unskilled and no match for their adversaries in craft; they would rush out singly and in tens or in groups great or small, hurling themselves on the Spartans and so perishing.

63. Where Mardonius was himself, riding a white horse in the battle and surrounded by a thousand picked men who were the flower of the Persians, there they pressed their adversaries hardest. So long as Mardonius was alive the Persians stood their ground and defended themselves, overthrowing many Lacedaemonians; but when Mardonius was slain and his guards, who were the strongest part of the army, fallen likewise, then the rest too yielded and gave ground before the men of Lacedaemon. For what chiefly wrought them harm was that they wore no armour over their raiment, and fought as it were naked against men fully armed.

64. On that day the Spartans gained from Mardonius their full measure of vengeance for the slaying of Leonidas, according to the oracle, and the most glorious of victories ever known to men was won by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, who was the son of Anaxandrides. (I have named the

## HERODOTUS

νων τὰ οὐρόματα εἰρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην· ώνται γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι δύντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδονίος ὑπὸ Λειψιήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου, ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἔοντος Μεσσηνίοις πᾶσι, καὶ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκάστοι.

65. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῆσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδέντα κόσμου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐωսτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον τὸ ἐποιήσαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαΐδῃ. θῶμα δέ μοι δκως παρὰ τῆς Δημητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανόν, περὶ τε τὸ ίρδον οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἐπεσον. δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θεών πρῆγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτὴ σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ίρδον τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνάκτορον.

66. Λῦτη μέν τυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαργάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἤρεσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ Βασιλέος, καὶ τοτε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἥρνε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἔων ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι. τῶν ἐστρατήγων ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὅλην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἐωστόν), τούτους, δκως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἐμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἢγε κατηρτημένως, παραγγεῖλας κατὰ τώντα λέναι πάντας τῇ ἀν αὐτὸς ἐξηγένεται, δκως ἀν αὐτὸν ὄρωσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγεῖλας ὡς

## BOOK IX. 64-66

rest of Pausanias' ancestors in the lineage of Leonidas; for they are the same for both.) As for Mardonius, he was slain by Aeitnnesus, a Spartan of note; who long after the Persian business did in time of war lead three hundred men to battle at Stenyelerus against the whole army of Messenia, and was there slain, he and his three hundred.

65. But at Plataeae, the Persians being routed by the Lacedaemonians fled in disorder to their own camp and within the wooden walls that they had made in the lands of Thebes. And herein is a marvellous thing, that though the battle was hard by the grove of Demeter there was no sign that any Persian had been slain in the precinct, or entered into it; most of them fell near the temple in unconsecrated ground; and I judge—if it be not a sin to judge of the ways of heaven—that the goddess herself denied them entry, for that they had burnt her temple, the shrine at Eleusis.

66. Thus far then went this battle. But Artabazus son of Pharnaces had from the very first misliked the king's leaving Mardonius, and now all his counselling not to join battle had been of no avail; and in his displeasure at what Mardonius was doing he himself did as I will show. He had with him a great army, even as many as forty thousand men; knowing well what would be the event of the battle, no sooner had the Greeks and Persians met than he led these with purpose fixed, bidding them follow him all together whither he should lead them, according to whatsoever they should see to be his intent; and with that command he made pretence

## HERODOTUS

ἐν μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν. προτερέων δὲ τῇσι οὐδαμὴ ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας οὐτῷ δὴ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων οὗτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὗτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαῖων τεῖχος ἀλλ' ἐς Φακέας, ἤθελων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.

67. Καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταῦτη ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως ἔθελοκακεύοντων Βοιωτού 'Αθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχρόνῳ. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχαν προθυμητὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοι τε καὶ οὐκ ἔθελοκακέστερες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρώτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐπεσφόν ὑπὸ 'Αθηναίων. ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἐφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς δμιλος, οὗτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὔδενι οὗτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἐφευγον.

68. Δηλοῖ τέ μοι δι τὰ πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν Βαρβάρων ἥρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ή καὶ συμμίξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἐφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὥρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἐφευγον πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίης αὗτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεες τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἵει τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἕουσα ἀπέργανσά τε τοὺς φιλίους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

69. Οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἴποκτο τοὺς Ξέρξεω διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ τὸ Ἡραιον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, δι τι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ

of leading them to battle. But as he came farther on his way he saw the Persians already fleeing; whereat he led his men no longer in the same array, but took to his heels and fled with all speed not to the wooden fort nor to the walled city of Thebes, but to Phocis, that so he might make his way with all despatch to the Hellespont.

67. So Artabazus and his army turned that way. All the rest of the Greeks that were on the king's side fought of set purpose ill; but not so the Boeotians; they fought for a long time against the Athenians. For those Thebans that took the Persian part showed no small zeal in the battle, and had no will to fight slackly, insomuch that three hundred of their first and best were there slain by the Athenians. But at last the Boeotians too yielded; and they fled to Thebes, not by the way that the Persians had fled and all the multitude of the allies, a multitude that had fought no fight to the end nor achieved any seat of arms.

68. This flight of theirs ere they had even closed, because they saw the Persians flee, proves to me that it was on the Persians that all the fortune of the foreigners hung. Thus they all fled, save only the cavalry, Boeotian and other; which did in so far advantage the fleeing men as it kept ever between them and their enemies, and shielded its friends from the Greeks in their flight.

69. So the Greeks followed in victory after Xerxes' men, pursuing and slaying. In this rout that grew apace there came a message to the rest of the Greeks, who lay at the temple of Hera and had kept away from the fight, that there had been a

## HERODOTUS

νικήσεν οἱ μετὰ Παυσανίεω· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσπαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμου ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Καριθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ιθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δίμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλειάσιους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειστάθη τῶν ὁδῶν. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγένοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλειάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἵπποται ἐπαιγομένους οὐδένα κόσμου ἡλαυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἵππάρχες Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρος, ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἔξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατίραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα.

70. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοιτο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐτὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφυγοσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὸν ἡ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφρίξαντο ὡς ἡδυνέατο ἀριστα τὸ τεῖχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεε σφι τειχομαχίη ἐρρωμενεστέρη. ἦντι μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δὲ ἡμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν ὡς δέ σφι Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὗτοι δὴ ἴσχυρῇ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος καὶ ἥριποι τῷ δὴ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἑλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τά τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων ἐσῦσαν χαλκέην πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μέν τυν

battle and that Pausanias' men were victorious; which when they heard, they set forth in no ordered array, they that were with the Corinthians keeping to the spurs of the mountain and the hill country, by the road that led upward straight to the temple of Demeter, and they that were with the Megarians and Phliasians following the levelest way over the plain. But when the Megarians and Phliasians were come near to the enemy, the Theban horsemen (whose captain was Asopodorus son of Timander) espied them approaching in haste and disorder, and rode at them; by which onfull they laid six hundred of them low, and pursued and swept the rest to Cithaeron.

70. So these perished, none regarding them. But when the Persians and the rest of the multitude had fled within the wooden wall, they made a shift to get them up on the towers before the coming of the Lacedaemonians, which done they strengthened the wall as best they could; and when the Athenians were now arrived there began a stiff battle for the wall. For as long as the Athenians were not there, the foreigners defended themselves, and had greatly the advantage of the Lacedaemonians, they having no skill in the assault of walls; but when the Athenians came up, the fight for the wall waxed hot and continued long. But at the last the Athenians did by valour and steadfast endeavour scale the wall and breach it, by which breach the Greeks poured in; the first to enter were the Tegeans, and it was they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from it beside all else the manger of his horses, that was all of bronze and a thing worth the beholding. The Tegeans dedicated

## HERODOTUS

φάτνην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν  
ιηὸν τῆς Ἀλένης Ἀθηναίης Τεγεῆται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα  
ἐς τώπιο, ὅσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήμεικαν τοῖσι  
“Ελλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στῖφος  
ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν  
ἄλκης ἐμέμνητο, ἀλλόκταζόν τε οἷα ἐν ὁλέγῳ χώρῳ  
πεφοβημέναι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλη-  
μέναι ἀνθρώπων παρῆν τε τοῖσι “Ελλησι  
φονεύειν οὐτῷ ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ,  
καταδεουσέων τεσσέριν τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος  
ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπέων μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περι-  
γενέσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης  
ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ  
ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεητέων δὲ ἑκκαΐδεκα, Ἀθηναίων  
δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

71. Ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ  
Περσέων, ἵππος δὲ οὐ Σακέων, ὡνὴρ δὲ λέγεται  
Μαρδόνιος. Ἐλλήρων δέ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ  
Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλοντο ἀρετῇ  
Λακεδαιμόνοι. ἄλλω μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποση-  
μήνασθαι (ἀπαντες γάρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ’ ἐωυτοὺς  
ἐπίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ισχυρότερον προσ-  
ηγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γυνώμας τὰς  
ημετέρας, οἱ ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριη-  
κοσίων συθεὶς ἔχε διειδός καὶ ἀτιμίην. μετὰ δὲ  
τοῦτον ἡρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιός τε καὶ Φιλοκύων  
καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιήτης. καίτοι γενο-  
μένης λέσχης θε γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγινωσπν

<sup>1</sup> These figures must refer to the Ηλῆται alone, leaving out  
of account the Laconian οὐραῖαι and the rest of the light-  
242

this manger of Mardonius in the temple of Athene Alea ; all else that they took they brought into the common stock, as did the rest of the Greeks. As for the foreigners, they drew no more to a head once the wall was down, but they were crazed with panic fear, as men hunted down in a narrow space where many myriads were herded together ; and such a slaughter were the Greeks able to make, that of two hundred and sixty thousand, that remained after Artabazus had fled with his forty thousand, scarce three thousand were left alive. Of the Lacedaemonians from Sparta there were slain in the battle ninety-one in all ; of the Tegeans, seventeen ; and of the Athenians, fifty-two.<sup>1</sup>

71. Among the foreigners they that fought best were the Persian foot and the horse of the Sacae, and of men, it is said, the bravest was Mardonius ; among the Greeks, the Tegeans and Athenians bore themselves gallantly, but the Lacedaemonians excelled all in valour. Of this my only clear proof is (for all these vanquished the foes opposed to them) that the Lacedaemonians met the strongest part of the army, and overcame it. According to my judgment, he that bore himself by far the best was Aristodemus, who had been reviled and dishonoured for being the only man of the three hundred that came alive from Thermopylae ;<sup>2</sup> and the next after him in valour were Posidonius and Philocyon and Amompharethus. Nevertheless when there was talk, and question who had borne himself

armed troops. Plutarch says that 60,000 Greeks fell at Plataea.

<sup>1</sup> Op. vii. 231.

## HERODOTUS

οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημου μὲν  
βουλόμενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεσύσης  
οἱ αἰτίης, λυσσώνται τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν  
ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ  
βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν-  
τοσεύτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν  
καὶ φθόνῳ ἀν εἴπουν· οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα  
πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστόδημου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν  
ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμοι ἐγένοντο· Ἀριστόδημος δὲ  
βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην  
οὐκ ἔτιμήθη.

72. Οὔτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι  
ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξι τῆς μάχης  
ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀγῆρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον  
τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μούνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαι-  
μονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀλλων Ἑλλήνων· δι,  
ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Παυσανίης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ  
τάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ  
οἱ μὲν ἐμάχορτο, οἱ δὲ ἐξενηγειγμένος ἐδυσθανάτεε-  
τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα  
οὐ μέλειν οἱ δτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει.  
ἄλλ' δτι οὐκ ἔχριστα τῷ χειρὶ καὶ δτι οὐδέν ἐστί  
οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἐωτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμευ-  
μένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

73. Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὑδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης  
ὁ Εύτυχίδεω, ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ  
τῶν κοτὲ ἔργαστα μένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν  
πάρτα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι. ὡς  
γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἐλένης κομιδὴν Γυνδαρίδαι

most bravely, those Spartans that were there judged that Aristodemus had achieved great feats because by reason of the reproach under which he lay he plainly wished to die, and so pressed forward in frenzy from his post, whereas Posidonius had borne himself well with no desire to die, and must in so far be held the better man. This they may have said of mere jealousy; but all the aforesaid who were slain in that fight received honour, save only Aristodemus; he, because he desired death by reason of the reproach afore-mentioned, received none.

72. These won the most renown of all that fought at Plataeae. Callicrates is not among them; for he died away from the battle, he that, when he came to the army, was the goodliest Lacedaemonian, ay, or Greek, in the Hellas of that day. He, when Pausanias was offering sacrifice, was wounded in the side by an arrow where he sat in his place; and while his comrades were fighting, he was carried out of the battle and died a lingering death, saying to Arimnestus, a Platæan, that it was no grief to him to die for Hellas' sake; his sorrow was rather that he had struck no blow and achieved no deed worthy of his merit, for all his eager desire so to do.

73. Of the Athenians, Sophantes son of Eutychides is said to have won renown, a man of the township of Decelea; that Decelea whose people once did a deed that was for all time serviceable, as the Athenians themselves say. For of old when the sons of Tyndarus strove to win Helen<sup>1</sup> back and

<sup>1</sup> According to legend, the Danaeans came to recover their sister Helen, who had been carried off to Aphidnae in Attica by Theseus and Pirithous.

## HERODOTUS

ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθει καὶ ἀνίστασαι τοὺς δῆμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἡνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἐδένη, τάτε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἵ δὲ αὐτὸν Δεκελον ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Θησέος ὑθρὶ καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενόν σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα κατηγρήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, τὰς δὴ Τιτακὸς ἔννα αὐτόχθων καταπροδιδοῖ Τυνδαρίδησι, τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἥργου ἀτελεῖη τε καὶ προεδρίη διατελέει ἐς τόδε αἱεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοιτι, σινομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι.

74. Τούτου τοῦ δῆμου ἐὼν ἀ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τάτε Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ζωστῆρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρε χαλκέη ἀλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρέην, τὴν δκως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι βαλλέσκετο, ἡνα δή μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοιτες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινήσαι μὴ δυναίσθη τινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναρτίων δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἱεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρε χαλκέην, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρέην.

broke with a great host into Attica, and were turning the townships upside down because they knew not where Helen had been hidden, then (it is said) the Deceleans (and, as some say, Decelus himself, because he was angered by the pride of Thesetus and feared for the whole land of Attica) revealed the whole matter to the sons of Tyndarus, and guided them to Aphidnae, which Titaeus, one of the country's oldest stock, betrayed to the Tyndaridae. For that deed the Deceleans have ever had and still have at Sparta freedom from all dues and chief places at feasts, insomuch that even as late as in the war that was waged many years after this time between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedaemonians laid no hand on Decelea when they harried the rest of Attica.<sup>1</sup>

74. Of that township was Sophanes, who now was the best Athenian fighter in the battle; concerning which, two tales are told. By the first, he bore an anchor of iron made fast to the girdle of his cuirass with a chain of bronze; which anchor he would ever cast whenever he drew nigh to his enemies in onset, that so the enemies as they left their ranks might not avail to move him from his place; and when they were put to flight, it was his plan that he would weigh his anchor and so pursue them. So runs this tale; but the second that is told is at variance with the first, and relates that he bore no anchor of iron made fast to his cuirass, but that his shield, which he ever whirled round and never kept still, had on it an anchor for device.

<sup>1</sup> But in the later part of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedaemonians established themselves at Decelea and held it as a menace to Athens (413 B.C.).

## HERODOTUS

75. Ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἔτερον Σωφάνει λαμπρὸν ἔργον  
ἔξεργασμένον, διὰ περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων  
Λίγιναν Εύρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργείου ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον  
ἐκ προκλιήσιος ἐφόνευσε, αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνει  
χρόνῳ ὅστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γενόμενον  
ἀγαθὸν. Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἀμα Λεάγρῳ  
τῷ Γλαιώκωνος, ἀποθανεῖ ὑπὸ Ηδωνῶν ἐν Δάτῳ  
περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

76. Ὡς δὲ τοῖσι "Ελλῆσι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέ-  
στρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἵνθαῦτά σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ  
αὐτύμολος ἡ ἐπειδὴ ἐμαθε ἀπολαλότας τοὺς  
Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς "Ελληνας, ἐοῦσα  
παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἄνδρὸς  
Πέρσεω, κοσμηταμένη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ  
καὶ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν  
παρεουσέων, καταβᾶσσα ἐκ τῆς ἀρματᾶξης ἔχώρεε  
ἐς τὸν Λακεδαιμονίοντι ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φυῆσι ἔσσας,  
ὄρωσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Παυσανίην,  
πρότερον τε τὸ οἶνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν  
πάτρην ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασσα, ἔγνω τε τὸν  
Παυσανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἐλεγε  
τάδε. Ὅτιον δέ τοι τὸν Σπάρτην, βῆσαι με τὴν ἰκέτιν  
αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γάρ καὶ ἐν τότε  
ἄνησας, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὗτε δαιμόνων  
οὗτε θεῶν δπιν ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κώη,  
θυγάτηρ δὲ Ήγυπτορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω Βίη δέ  
με λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ είχε ὁ Πέρσης." ὃ δὲ ἀμείβεται  
τοῖσιδε. Ὅτιον, θύρσεε καὶ ὡς ἰκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ  
πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχάνειται ἀληθέα λέγουσα καὶ εἰς

75. Another famousfeat of arms Sophanes achieved: when the Athenians were beleaguering Aegina, he challenged and slew Eurybutes the Argive, a victor in the Five Contests. But long after this Sophanes, who had borne himself thus gallantly, came by his death; being general of the Athenians with Leagrus, son of Glancon, he was slain at Datus<sup>1</sup> by the Edonians in a battle for the gold-mines.

76. Immediately after the Greeks had laid low the foreigners at Plataeae, there came to them a woman, deserting from the enemy, who was the concubine of Pharanlates, a Persian, son of Teaspis. She, learning that the Persians were destroyed and the Greeks victorious, decked herself (as did also her attendants) with many gold ornaments and the fairest raiment that she had, and so lighting from her carriage came to the Lacedaemonians while they were yet at the slaughtering; and seeing Pausanias ordering all that business, whose name and country she knew from her often hearing of it, she knew that it was he, and thus besought him, clasping his knees: "Save me, your suppliant, O king of Sparta! from captive slavery; for you have done me good service till this hour, by making an end of yonder men, that regard not aught that is divine in heaven or earth. Thus am I by birth, daughter to Hegenorides, son of Antagoras; in Cos the Persian laid violent hands on me and held me prisoner." "Be of good cheer, lady," Pausanias answered, "for that you are my suppliant, and for your tale withal, if

<sup>1</sup> In the attempt to establish an Athenian settlement at Amphipolis in 465 (Thucyl. i. 100, v. 102). Datus was on the Thracian seaboard opposite Thasos.

## HERODOTUS

θυγάτηρ Ἡγυπτορίδεω τοῦ Κάφου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος μᾶλιστα τυγχάνει ἐώς τῶν περὶ ἑκείνους τοὺς χώρους σικημένων." ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας τότε μὲν ἐτέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι, ὑστεροῦ δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ἥθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπίξιν τῆς γυναικός, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ' ἔξεργα-  
σμένοισι· μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὑστεροὶ ἡκουσι τῆς  
συμβολῆς, συμφορήν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ἀξιοί τε  
ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι, πυνθανόμενοι δὲ  
τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας,  
τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίης· Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρί-  
σαντες ἐς τὴν ἐωιτῶν τοὺς ἥγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς  
ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἡκον  
Ἡλεῖοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τοῖσι Μαντινεῖσι  
συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελ-  
θόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἥγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ  
κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἡλεῖους τοσαῦτα.

78. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν  
Αἰγυπτέων ἦν Λάρμπων Πυθέω, Λίγηνητέων ἐών  
τὰ πρώτα· ἢς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἴστο πρὸς  
Παυσανίην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῇ ἐλεγε ταῦτε.  
"Ω παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργαστα τοι  
ὑπερφυὲς μέγαθος τε καὶ κάλλος, καὶ τοι θεὸς  
παρέδωκε ρυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος κατα-  
θέσθαι μέριστον Ἑλλήνων τὸν ἡμεῖς Γόμεν. σὺ  
δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ποιήσον, ὅκως  
λόγος τε σὲ ἔχῃ ἔτι μέζων καὶ τις ὑστερού  
φυλάσσηται τῶν Βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα  
ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. Δεωιδεω  
250

you be verily daughter to Hegetorides of Cos, for he is my closest friend, of all that dwell in those lands." Thus saying, he gave her for the nonce in charge to those of the ephors who were present, and thereafter sent her to Aegina, whither she herself desired to go.

77. Immediately after the coming of this woman, came the men of Mantinea, when all was over; who, learning that they were come too late for the battle, were greatly distressed, and said that they deserved to punish themselves therefor. Hearing that the Medes with Artabazus were fleeing, they would have pursued after them as far as Thessaly; but the Laeadaemonians would not suffer them to pursue fleeing men; and returning to their own land the Mantineans banished the leaders of their army from the country. After the Mantineans came the men of Elis, who also went away sorrowful in like manner as the Mantineans, and after their departure banished their leaders likewise. Such were the doings of the Mantineans and Eleans.

78. Now there was at Plataea in the army of the Aeginetans one Lampon, son of Pythes, a leading man of Aegina; he sought Pausanias with most unrighteous counsel, and having made haste to come said to him: "Son of Cleombrotus, you have done a deed of surpassing greatness and glory; by heaven's favour you have saved Hellas, and thereby won greater renown than any Greek known to men. But now you must finish what remains to do, that your fame may be yet the greater, and that no foreigner may hereafter make bold unprovoked to wreak his mad and wicked will on the Greeks. When Leonidas

## HERODOTUS

γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Μαρδόνιος τε  
καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύ-  
ρωσαν τῷ σὺ τὴν ὄμοιήν ἀποδιδούς ἐπαινον ἔχεις  
πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητῶν, αὐτὶς δὲ  
καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀλλων Ἑλλήνων Μαρδόνιον γῆρ  
ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεαι ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν  
Λεωνίδην.

79. "Ο μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, ο δ'  
ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "Ω ξεῖνε Λίγυνῆτα, τὸ μὲν  
εὐροέειν τε καὶ προσφάν ἄγαμαι σεν, γηρώμης  
μέντοι ἡμίρτηκας χρηστής· ἔξαείρας γάρ με ὑφοῦ  
καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μῆδεν κατέ-  
βαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἦν  
ταῦτα ποιέω, φὰς ἀμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ  
πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρθάρουσι ποιέειν οἱ περ  
Ἑλλησι· καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἔγω  
δ ὃν τούτον εἴνεκα μῆτε Λίγυνήτησι ἄδοιμι μῆτε  
τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται, ἀποχρᾶ δὲ μοι Σπαρτιη-  
τῆσι ἀρεσκόμενον δσια μὲν ποιέειν, δσια δὲ καὶ  
λέγειν. Λεωνίδην δέ, τῷ με κελεύεις τιμωρήσας,  
φῆμι μεγάλως τετιμωρήσας, ψυχῆσί τε τῷσι  
τῷσι διαριθμήτοισι τετίμηται αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ  
ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευτήσαντες. σὺ  
μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μῆτε προσέλθῃς  
ἔμαγε μῆτε συμβουλεύσῃς, χάριν τε ἴσθι ἔων  
ἀπαθής."

80. "Ο μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο.  
Πανσακίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα  
ἀπτεσθαι τῇσι ληίῃσι, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς  
εἶλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἀμὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον  
σκιδράμενοι εὑρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας  
χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ

was slain at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and set it on a pole; make them a like return, and you will win praise from all Spartans, and the rest of Hellas besides; for if you impale Mardonius you will be avenged for your father's brother Leonidas."

79. So said Lampon, thinking to please. But Pausanias answered him thus: "Sir Aeginetan, I thank you for your goodwill and forethought; but you have missed the mark of right judgment; for first you exalt me on high and my fatherland and my deeds withal, yet next you cast me down to mere nothingness when you counsel me to insult the dead, and say that I shall win more praise if I so do; but that were an act more proper for foreigners than for Greeks, and one that we deem matter of blame even in foreigners. Nay, for myself, I would fain in this business find no favour either with the people of Aegium or whoso else is pleased by such acts; it is enough for me if I please the Spartans by righteous deed and righteous speech. As for Leonidas, whom you would have me avenge, I hold that he has had full measure of vengeance; the uncounted souls of these that you see have done honour to him and the rest of those who died at Thermopylae. But to you this is my warning, that you come not again to me with words like these nor give me such counsel; and be thankful now that you go unpunished."

80. With that answer Lampon departed. Then Pausanias made a proclamation, that no man should touch the spoil, and bade the helots gather all the stuff together. They, scattering all about the camp, found there tents adorned with gold and silver, and couches gilded and silver-plated, and golden bowls

## HERODOTUS

ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε  
καὶ ἄλλα ἑκτώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἀμαξέων  
εὑρίσκουν, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες  
χρύσεοι τε καὶ ἀργυρεοι· ἀπό τε τῶν κειμένων  
τεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλαιά τε καὶ στρεπτούς καὶ  
τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἔοντας χρυσέους, ἐπει ἐσθῆτός γε  
ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδεὶς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ  
μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Λίγυαίτας οἱ  
εἶλοτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν  
οὐκ οἴα τε ἦν κρύψαντες ὥστε Λίγυρήτης· οἱ  
μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεύτεν ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὸν  
χρυσὸν ἀτε ἔοντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν εἰλάτων  
ἀνέσποτο.

81. Συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην  
ἔξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἣς ὁ τρίποντος ὁ  
χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικυρήνου ὄφιος τοῦ  
χαλκέου ἐπεστεὼς μύχιστα τοῦ βαθμοῦ, καὶ τῷ  
ἐν Ὁλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἔξελόντες, ἀπ' ἣς δεκάπηχυν  
χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἱσθμῷ θεῷ,  
ἀπ' ἣς ἐπτάπηχυς χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο,  
ταῦτα ἔξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ὀλαβον  
ἔκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἤσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν  
Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρον καὶ ἄλλα  
χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποξύρια. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἔξαιρετα  
τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῆσι ἐδόθη, οὐ  
λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δὲ ἐγώγε καὶ τούτοισι  
δοθῆναι· Παυσανίη δὲ πάντα δέκα ἔξαιρέθη  
τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναικες ἵπποι τάλαγτα κύμηλοι,  
ὧς δὲ αὗτας καὶ τάλλα χρήματα.

<sup>1</sup> The bronze three-headed serpent supporting the cauldron was intended apparently to commemorate the whole Greek alliance against Persia. The serpent pedestal still exists,

and cups and other drinking-vessels ; and sacks they found on wains, wherein were seen cauldrons of gold and silver ; and they stripped from the dead that lay there their armlets and torques, and daggers of gold ; as for many-coloured raiment, it was nothing regarded. Much of all this the helots showed, as much as they could not conceal ; but much they stole and sold to the Aeginetans ; insomuch that the Aeginetans thereby laid the foundation of their great fortunes, by buying gold from the helots as though it were bronze.

81. Having brought all the stuff together they set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi, whereof was made and dedicated that tripod that rests upon the bronze three-headed serpent,<sup>1</sup> nearest to the altar ; another they set apart for the god of Olympia, whereof was made and dedicated a bronze figure of Zeus, ten cubits high ; and another for the god of the Isthmus, whereof came a bronze Poseidon seven cubits high ; all which having set apart they divided the remnant, and each received according to his desert of the concubines of the Persians, and the gold and silver, and all the rest of the stuff, and the beasts of burden. How much was set apart and given to those who had fought best at Plataeae, no man says ; but I think that they also received gifts ; but tenfold of every kind, women, horses, talents, camels, and all other things likewise, was set apart and given to Pausanias.

in the Atmeidan (formerly Hippodrome) at Constantinople, whether it was transported by Constantine ; it has been fully exposed and its inscription deciphered since 1856. The names of thirty-one Greek states are incised on eleven spirals, from the third to the thirteenth. For a fuller account see How and Wells' note *ad loc.*

## HERODOTUS

82. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίφ τὴν κατασκευὴν καταλίποι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· Παυσανίην ὥν ὄρῶντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοισι κατεσκευασμένην, κελεῦσαι τούς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὄφοπαιοὺς κατὰ ταῦτα καθὼς Μαρδονίφ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὗτοι ἔποιεν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίην ιδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δεῖπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεῦσται ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοῦτοντοῦ διηγόνους παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον. ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, τὸν Παυσανίην γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήρων τοὺς στρατηγούς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Παυσανίην, δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δεῖπνου παρασκευὴν, “Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε εἴνεκα ἐγώ ὑμέας συνῆγαγον, θουλόμενος ὑμῶν τοῦτον Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην δέξαι, δις τοιήνδε δίαιταν ἔχων δηλθε ἐς ὑμέας οὗτοι οἵξυρην ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος.” ταῦτα μέν Παυσανίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήρων.

83. Τατέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων εὐρον συχνοὶ θήκαις χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἀλλων χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τόδε ὕστερον τούτων ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας συνεφέρεον γὰρ τὰ οστέα οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐς ἕρα χῶρον εὑρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐοῦσα

82. This other story is also told. Xerxes in his flight from Hellas, having left to Mardonius his own establishment, Pausanias, seeing Mardonius' establishment with its display of gold and silver and gaily-coloured tapestry, bade the bakers and the cooks to prepare a dinner in such wise as they were wont to do for Mardonius. They did his bidding; whereat Pausanias, when he saw golden and silvern couches richly covered, and tables of gold and silver, and all the magnificent service of the banquet, was amazed at the splendour before him, and for a jest bade his own servants prepare a dinner after Laconian fashion. When that meal was ready and was far different from the other, Pausanias fell a-laughing, and sent for the generals of the Greeks. They being assembled, Pausanias pointed to the fashion after which either dinner was served, and said: "Men of Hellas, I have brought you hither because I desired to show you the foolishness of the leader of the Medes; who, with such provision for life as you see, came hither to take away from us ours, that is so pitiful." Thus, it is said, Pausanias spoke to the generals of the Greeks.

83. But in later days many of the Plataeans also found chests full of gold and silver and all else. Moreover there were sights to see among these dead, when their bones (which the Platineans gathered into one place) were laid bare of flesh: there was found a skull whereof the bone was all

## HERODOTUS

οστέου, ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γυάθος κατὰ τὸ ἄνω<sup>1</sup> τῆς γυάθου ἔχουσα ὁδόντας μουμοφυέας ἐξ ἑρὸς οστέου πάντας τούς τε προσθίους καὶ γυμφίους, καὶ πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὄστέα ἐφάνη.

84. Ἐπείτε δὲ<sup>2</sup> Μαρδονίου δευτέρη ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἤφαντο, ὑπὸ δτεν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἥδη καὶ παρτοδαποὺς ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οίδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτούρεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· δοστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῷ ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀγήρ Εφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη.

85. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἀντὶ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν ληίην διελλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωτῶν χωρὶς ἔκαστοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὺς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας· ἐνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμορφύρετος ἥσταν καὶ Φιλοκύνων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἥσταν οἱ ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἶδωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὗτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγηῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἑωτῶν ομοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας. τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεες ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δοσι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἔοντες

<sup>1</sup> MS. καὶ τὸ ἄνω; Stein suggests κατά, which is here adopted.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Επείτε δέ, introducing a protasis which has no apodosis; Stein's suggested ἐπεὶ γε δή (= for as to Mardonius, etc.) seems preferable.

one without suture, and a jawbone wherein the teeth of the upper jaw were one whole, a single bone, front teeth and grinders; and there were to be seen the bones of a man of five cubits' stature.

84. As for the body of Mardonius, it was made away with on the day after the battle; by whom, I cannot with exactness say; but I have heard of very many of all countries that buried Mardonius, and I know of many that were richly rewarded for that act by Mardonius' son Artontes; but which of them it was that stole away and buried the body of Mardonius I cannot learn for a certainty, albeit some report that it was buried by Dionysophanes, an Ephesian. Such was the manner of Mardonius' burial.

85. But the Greeks, when they had divided the spoil at Plataeae, buried their dead each severally in their place. The Lacedaemonians made three vaults; there they buried their "irens,"<sup>1</sup> among whom were Posidonius and Amompharetus and Philocyon and Callicrates. In one of the tombs, then, were the "irens," in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the helots. Thus the Lacedaemonians buried their dead; the Tegeans buried all theirs together in a place apart, and the Athenians did likewise with their own dead; and so did the Megarians and Phliasians with those who had been slain by the horsemen. All the tombs of these peoples were filled with dead; but as for the rest of the states whose tombs are to be seen at Plataeae,

<sup>1</sup> Spartan young men between the ages of twenty and thirty.

## HERODOTUS

τάφοι, τούτουν δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνο-  
μένους τῇ ἀπεστοῖ τῆς μάχης ἐκάστους χώματα  
χῶσαι καὶ τῶν ἐπιγνωμένων εἰνέκεν ἀνθρώπων,  
ἐπεὶ καὶ Λίγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος.  
Τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὑστερον μετὰ ταῦτα  
δειηθέντων τῶν Λίγινητέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν  
Αὐτοβίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἔόντα  
αὐτῶν.

86. Ός δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλα-  
ταιῇσι οἱ Ἑλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευμένοισι σφι  
ἔδοκε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἐξαιτεῖν  
αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν  
Τιμηγείδην καὶ Ἀτταγίνον, οἱ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ  
πρώτους ἥσαν· τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανί-  
στασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι.  
ὡς δέ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὗτοι δὴ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ  
ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικάμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θη-  
βαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ  
βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τὴν τε  
γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ  
τεῖχος.

87. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐκαύοντο σιωμένοι, είκοστῇ  
ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγείδης τάδε,  
“Ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὗτοι δέδοκται τοῖσι  
Ἑλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας  
ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, μῦν  
ἄν ἡμέων εἴνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτίη πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ,  
ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηζόντες πρόσχημα  
ἡμέας ἐξαιτεούται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ  
κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν οὐδὲ  
μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθέως δεόμενοι  
πολιορκέοντι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην

their tombs are but empty barrows that they built for the sake of men that should come after, because they were ashamed to have been absent from the battle. In truth there is one there that is called the tomb of the Aeginetans, which, as I have been told, was built as late as ten years after, at the Aeginetans' desire, by their patron and protector Cleades son of Autodiceus, a Platæan.

86. As soon as the Greeks had buried their dead at Platæae, they resolved in council that they would march against Thebes and demand surrender of those who had taken the Persian part, but specially of Timagenidas and Attaginus, who were chief among their foremost men; and that, if these men were not delivered to them, they would not withdraw from before the city till they should have taken it. Being thus resolved, they came with this intent on the eleventh day after the battle and laid siege to the Thebans, demanding the surrender of the men; and the Thebans refusing this surrender, they laid their lands waste and assaulted the walls.

87. Seeing that the Greeks would not cease from their harrying, when nineteen days were past, Timagenidas thus spoke to the Thebans: "Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have so resolved that they will not raise the siege till Thebes be taken or we be delivered to them, now let not the land of Boeotia increase the measure of its ills for our sake; nay, if it is money they desire and their demand for our surrender is but a pretext, let us give them money out of our common treasury (for it was by the common will and not ours alone that we took the Persian part); but if they be besieging the town for no other cause save to have us, then we will give

## HERODOTUS

παρέξομεν." κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐς  
καιρὸν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Παυσανίην  
οἱ Θηβαῖοι θέλοντες ἐκδιδόνται τοὺς ἄνδρας.

88. Ὡς δὲ ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοισι, Ἀττα-  
γίνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος, παῖδας δὲ  
αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίης.  
φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲν εἴραι μεταιτίους.  
τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἔξεδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι,  
οἱ μὲν ἔδοκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ  
χρῆμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέεσθαι· δὲ δὲ ὡς παρέ-  
λαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν  
τῶν συμμάχων ἀπασταν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγα-  
γὼν ἐς Κορινθον διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν  
Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θῆβῃσι γενόμενα.

89. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ  
Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ἀπικόμενον  
δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξείμα  
ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτων περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς  
ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενο-  
μένων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνοὺς διτὶ εἰ ἐθέλει σφι  
πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλιγθεῖν τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτός  
τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρα-  
τός ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἴετο πιν-  
θανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὔτε  
πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγορευε οὐδὲν πρὸς τε τοὺς  
Θεσσαλοὺς ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ ἄνδρες  
Θεσσαλοί, ὡς ὅρατε, ἐπείγομαι τε κατὰ τάχος  
ἔλων ἐς Θρηίκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεὶς  
κατά τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε  
αὐτὸν δὲ ὑμίν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ,  
οἵτας κατὰ πόδας ἔμεν ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμος ἐστί.

## BOOK IX. 87-89

ourselves up to be tried by them." This seeming to be very well and seasonably said, the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias, offering to surrender the men.

88. On these terms they made an agreement; but Attaginus escaped out of the town; his sons were seized, but Pausanias held them free of guilt, saying that the sons were nowise accessory to the treason. As for the rest of the men whom the Thelians surrendered, they supposed that they would be put on their trial, and were confident that they would defeat the impeachment by bribery; but Pausanias had that very suspicion of them, and when they were put into his hands he sent away the whole allied army, and carried the men to Corinth, where he put them to death. Such were the doings at Plataeae and Thebes.

89. Artabazus the son of Pharnaces was by now far on his way in his flight from Plataeae. The Thessalians, when he came among them, entertained him hospitably and inquired of him concerning the rest of the army, knowing nothing of what had been done at Plataeae. Artabazus understood that if he told them the whole truth about the fighting, he would imperil his own life and the lives of all that were with him; for he thought that every man would set upon him if they heard the story; wherefore, thus reasoning, even as he had revealed nothing to the Phocians so he spoke thus to the Thessalians: "I myself, men of Thessaly, am pressing on with all speed and diligence to march into Thrace, being despatched from the army for a certain purpose with these whom you see; and you may look to see Mardonius and that host of his yonder, marching

## HERODOTUS

τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γάρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῖσθαι μεταμελήσει· ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας ἀπῆλαυνε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν ἵνα Θεσσαλίης τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἴθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμιων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικυνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπὼν τὸν στρατοῦ τὸν ἔωστοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων κατακοπέντας κατ’ ὁδὸν καὶ λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ καράτῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

90. Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῇ περ ἐν Πλαταιᾷ γινοταῖ τὸ τρῶμα ἐγένετο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μικάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῷ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἑλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι ιηναῖσι ἄμα Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἥλθόν σφι ἀγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Δάμπτων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαριών λάθρῳ τῷν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀινεροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα, ὡς ἦν μοῦνον ἰδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰωνες ἀποστῆσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἐτέρην ἀγρην τοιαύτην εὑρεῖν ἀν αὐτούς· θεοὺς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας· Ἑλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμύναι τὸν βάρβαρον· εὐπετέρες τε αὐτοῖσι ἔφη ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τός τε γὰρ οὐκαντακανῶς πλέσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιούμχους κείροισι εἴραι. αὐτοὶ τε, εἴ τι ὑποπτεύονται

close after me. It is for you to entertain him, and show that you do him good service; for if you so do, you will not afterwards repent of it." So saying, he used all diligence to lead his army away straight towards Thrace through Thessaly and Macedonia, brooking in good sooth no delay and following the shortest inland road. So he came to Byzantium, but he left behind many of his army, cut down by the Thracians or overcome by hunger and weariness; and from Byzantium he crossed over in boats. In such case Artabazus returned into Asia.

90. Now on the selfsame day when the Persians were so stricken at Plataeae, it so fell out that they suffered a like fate at Mycale in Ionia. For the Greeks who had come in their ships with Leutychides the Lacedaemonian being then in quarters at Delos, there came to them certain messengers from Samos, to wit, Lampon son of Thrasycles, Athenagoras son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus son of Aristagoras; these the Samians had sent, keeping their despatch secret from the Persians and the despot Theomestor son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made despot of Samos. When they came before the generals, Hegesistratus spoke long and vehemently: "If the Ionians but see you," said he, "they will revolt from the Persians; and the foreigners will not stand; but if perchance they do stand, you will have such a prey as never again"; and he prayed them in the name of the gods of their common worship to deliver Greeks from slavery and drive the foreigner away. That, said he, would be an easy matter for them; "for the Persian ships are unseaworthy and no match for yours; and if you

## HERODOTUS

μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἔτοιμοι εἶναι ἐν τῷσι  
ιησαὶ τῇσι ἑκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι εἶναι.

91. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ  
Σάμιος, εἴρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνιος εἴνεκεν  
θέλων πυθέσθαι εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ  
ποιεῖντος, "Ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὖνομα; " ὃ  
δὲ εἶπε "Ηγησίστρατος." ὃ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν  
ἐπίλοιπον λόγουν, εἰ τινα δρμητὸν λέγειν ὁ Ηγησί-  
στρατος, εἶπε "Δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν Ηγησί-  
στράτου, ὁ ξεῖνε Σάμιε. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποιεε ὅκως  
αὐτὸς τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσεαι καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ἴοντες οἵδε, η μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσεσθαι  
συμμάχους."

92. Ταῦτα τε ἄμα ἤγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον  
προσῆγε. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ  
ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλ-  
ληνας. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῆσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον  
μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ηγησί-  
στρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὖνομα ποιεύμενος.

93. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταῦτην τὴν  
ἡμέρην τῇ ὑστεραὶ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου  
σφι Δηιφόρου τοῦ Εὔηρίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτεω,  
Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. τούτου  
τὸν πατέρα Εύήμιον κατέλαβε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε.  
ἦστι ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ταῦτη ἵρα ἡλίσυν πρόβατα,  
τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ Χῶνα ποταμῷ,  
νἍ τοι Λάκμονας δρεος ἔρει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης  
χώρης ἐειθάλασσαν παρ' Ὁρίκον λιμένα, τὰς  
δὲ νύκτας ἀραιτημένοις ἀνδρεσσι οἱ πλούτοι τε καὶ  
γένει δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι  
επιαυτὸν ἐκαστον" περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται

have any suspicion that we may be tempting you guilefully, we are ready to be carried in your ships as hostages."

91. This Samian stranger being so earnest in entreaty, Leutychides asked him (whether it was that he desired to know for the sake of a presage, or that heaven happily prompted him thereto), "Sir Samian, what is your name?" "Hegesistratus,"<sup>1</sup> said he. Then Leutychides cut short whatever else Hegesistratus had begun to say, and cried: "I accept the omen of your name, Sir Samian; now do you see to it that ere you sail hence you and these that are with you pledge yourselves that the Samians will be our zealous allies."

92. Thus he spoke, and then and there added the deed thereto; for straightway the Samians bound themselves by pledge and oath to alliance with the Greeks. This done, the rest sailed away, but Leutychides bade Hegesistratus take ship with the Greeks, for the good omen of his name.

93. The Greeks waited through that day, and on the next they sought and won favourable augury; their diviner was Delphonus son of Evenius, a man of that Apollonia which is in the Ionian gulf. This man's father Evenius had once fared as I will now relate. There is at the aforesaid Apollonia a certain flock sacred to the Sun, which in the daytime is pastured beside the river Chon, which flows from the mountain called Laemon through the lands of Apollonia and issues into the sea by the haven of Oricum; by night, those townsmen who are most notable for wealth or lineage are chosen to watch it, each man serving for a year; for the people of

<sup>1</sup> Hegesistratus = Army-leader.

## HERODOTUS

'Απολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινὸς· ἐν δὲ ἀντρῳ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκάς. ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε, καὶ κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὰ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἔξηκοντα. οὐ δὲ ὡς ἐπήισε, εἰχε συγῇ καὶ ἔφραξε οὐδεποτί, ἐν νῷον ἔχων ἀντικαταστῆσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος. καὶ οὐ γάρ ἔλαθε τοὺς 'Απολλωνιῆτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄφιος στερηθῆναι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἔξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὕτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὕτε γῇ ἔφερε ὄμριος καρπόν. πρόφαστα δὲ σφι ἐν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἔγινετο, ἐπείτε ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραξον διεδικαστὶ τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἵρων προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄφιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερόν τε παυσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκαιας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἀν αὐτὸς ἐληταὶ καὶ δικαιοὶ· τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλούς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα.

94. Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτα σφι ἔχρισθη, οἱ δὲ 'Απολλωνιῆται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι προθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι· οἱ δέ σφι διέπρηξαν ὡδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θάκῃ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζαντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἃς δὲ κατέβαντορ συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει· ταύτη δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἀν ἐλοιτο,

Apollonia set great store by this flock, being so taught by a certain oracle. It is folded in a cave far distant from the town. Now at the time whereof I speak, Evenius was the chosen watchman. But one night he fell asleep, and wolves came past his guard into the cave, killing about sixty of the flock. When Evenius was aware of it, he held his peace and told no man, being minded to restore what was lost by buying others. But this matter was not hid from the people of Apollonia; and when it came to their knowledge they haled him to judgment and condemned him to lose his eyesight for sleeping at his watch. So they blinded Evenius; but from the day of their so doing their flocks bore no offspring, nor did their land yield her fruits as aforetime; and a declaration was given to them at Dodona and Delphi, when they inquired of the prophets what might be the cause of their present ill: the gods told them by their prophets that they had done unjustly in blinding Evenius, the guardian of the sacred flock, "for we ourselves" (said they) "sent those wolves, and we will not cease from avenging him ere you make him such restitution for what you did as he himself chooses and approves; when that is fully done, we will ourselves give Evenius such a gift as will make many men to deem him happy."

94. This was the oracle given to the people of Apollonia. They kept it secret, and charged certain of their townsmen to carry the business through; who did so as I will now show. Coming and sitting down by Evenius at the place where he sat, they spoke of other matters, till at last they fell to commiserating his misfortune; and thus guiding the discourse they asked him what requital he would

## HERODOTUS

εἰ ἔθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκαιας ὑποστῆματα  
δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἀκριβώς τὸ  
θεοπρόπιον εἶδετο εἴπας εἰ τις οἱ δοίη ἄγροις,  
τῶν ἀστῶν ὄνομάσας τοῖσι ὥπιστατο εἴναι καλ-  
λίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ, καὶ  
οἰκησιν πρὸς τούτοισι τὴν γέδεε καλλίστην ἔσθισαν  
τῶν ἐν πόλι. τούτων δὲ ἔφη ἐπίθιτλος γενόμενος  
τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμήντος εἴναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην  
ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. καὶ ὃ μὲν ταῦτα ἐλεγε, οἱ  
δὲ πάρεδροι εἴπαν ὑποληφόρτες "Εὐήπιε, ταύτην  
δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί  
τοις κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα." ὃ μὲν δὴ  
πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποίεε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος  
τον πάντα λόγου, ὡς ἐξαπατηθείς οἱ δὲ πριάμενοι  
παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων δίδουσί οἱ τὰ εἶδετο. καὶ  
μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε  
καὶ ὄνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

95. Τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηϊφορος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηπιου  
ἄγοντων Κορινθίων ἐμαυτεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ήδη  
δὲ καὶ τάδε ἡκουστα, ὡς ὁ Δηϊφορος ἐπιβατεύων  
τοῦ Εὐηπιου οὐράματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλ-  
λάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐών Εὐηπιου παῖς.

96. Τοῖσι δὲ "Ελλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνῆγον  
τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Διῆλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ  
δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμίης πρὸς Καλαμίσαις, οἱ  
μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ "Ηραιον τὸ ταῦτη  
παρεσκευίζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι  
πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέειν ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ  
Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. Βουλευομένοισι γάρ  
σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι· οὐ γάρ ὡν

choose, if the people of Apollonia should promise to requite him for what they had done. He, knowing nought of the oracle, said he would choose for a gift the lands of certain named townsmen whom he deemed to have the two fairest estates in Apollonia, and a house besides which he knew to be the fairest in the town ; let him (he said) have possession of these, and he would forgo his wrath, and be satisfied with that by way of restitution. They that sat by him waited for no further word than that, and said : " Evenins, the people of Apollonia hereby make you that restitution for the loss of your sight, obeying the oracle given to them." At that he was very angry, for he learnt thereby the whole story and saw that they had cheated him ; but they bought from the possessors and gave him what he had chosen ; and from that day he had a natural gift of divination, so that he won fame thereby.

95. Deiphonus, the son of this Evenius, had been brought by the Corinthians, and practised divination for the army. But I have heard it said ere now, that Deiphonus was no son of Evenius, but made a wrongful use of that name, and wrought for wages up and down Hellas.

96. Having won favourable omens, the Greeks stood out to sea from Delos for Samos. When they were now near Calamisa in the Samian territory, they anchored there hard by the temple of Herc that is in those parts, and prepared for a sea-fight ; the Persians, learning of their approach, stood likewise out to sea and made for the mainland, with all their ships save the Phoenicians, whom they sent sailing away. It was determined by them in council that they would not do battle by sea ; for they

## HERODOTUS

έδόκεον ὄμοιοι εἶναι. ἐφ δὲ τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπέπλεον,  
ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον  
ἔσσυτα ἐν τῷ Μυκαλῷ, ὃς κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω  
κιταλέλειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφύ-  
λασσε τοῦ πλῆθος μὲν ἦν ἥξει μυριάδες, ἐστρατηγες  
δὲ αὐτοῦ Τεγράνης καλλεῖ καὶ μεγάθει ὑπερ-  
φέρων Πέρσαις. ὑπὸ τούτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν  
ἐθουλεύσαντα καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ  
στρατηγοὺς ἀνειρύσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι  
ἔρκος ἔρυμά τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν  
κρησφύγετον.

97. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνίγοντο. ἀπικό-  
μενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτιμέων ἴρον τῆς Μυκαλῆς  
ἐς Γαλασσανά τε καὶ Σκολοπόευτα, τῇ Δήμοτρος  
Ἐλευσινίης ἴρον, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Παπικλέος ἰδρύ-  
σατο Νεῖλον τῷ Κόδρον ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήσιου  
κτιστύν, ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περι-  
εβάλοντο ἔρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα  
ἴκκοψαντες ἡμέρα, καὶ σκύλοπας περὶ τὰ ἔρκος  
κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρεσκευάσατο ὡς πολιορκη-  
σόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἐπιλε-  
γόμενοι γάρ παρεσκευάζοντο.

98. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντα σίχωκότας  
τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν τὴν ἡπειρον, ἥχθοντο ὡς  
ἐκπεφευγότων ἀπορῷ τε εἰχοντο ὅ τι ποιέωσι,  
εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσωσται ὅπιστο εἴτε καταπλέωσι  
ἐπ' Ἐλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν  
μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον.  
παρεσκευασάμενοι ὡν ἐς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀπο-  
βίθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσαν ἔδει, ἐπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς

deemed themselves overmatched ; and the reason of their making for the mainland was, that they might lie under the shelter of their army at Mycale, which had been left by Xerxes' command behind the rest of his host to hold Ionia ; there were sixty thousand men in it, and Tigranes, the goodliest and tallest man in Persia, was their general. It was the design of the Persian admirals to flee to the shelter of that army, and there to beach their ships and build a fence round them which should be a protection for the ships and a refuge for themselves.

97. With this design they put to sea. So when they came past the temple of the Goddesses<sup>1</sup> at Mycale to the Gaeson and Seolopois,<sup>2</sup> where is a temple of Eleusinian Demeter (which was built by Philistus son of Pasicles, when he went with Nileus son of Codrus to the sounding of Miletus), there they beached their ships and fenced them round with stones and trunks of orchard trees that they cut down ; and they drove in stakes round the fence, and prepared for siege or victory, making ready of deliberate purpose for either event.

98. When the Greeks learnt that the foreigners were off and away to the mainland, they were ill-pleased to think that their enemy had escaped them, and doubted whether to return back or make sail for the Hellespont. At the last they resolved that they would do neither, but sail to the mainland ; and equipping themselves therefore with gangways and all else needful for a sea-fight, they

<sup>1</sup> Demeter and Persephone.

<sup>2</sup> The Gaeson was probably a stream running south of the hill called Mycale ; Seolopois, a place on its east bank (How and Wells).

## HERODOTUS

Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίρουντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὄρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγαλόν, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ υἱὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας τῷ αἰγαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κῆρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι "Ιωσὶ λέγων· Ἀιγρεῖς Ιωνες, οἱ ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω· πάντας γάρ οὐδὲν συνιήσουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἔγῳ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι. ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνῆσθαι τινὰ χρὴ ἐλευθερίης μὲν πάνταν πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος Ἡβῆς, καὶ τάδε ἔστω καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀκούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος." ὡντὸς δὲ οὗτος ἐών τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ο ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίφῃ γάρ δὴ λαθόρτα τὰ ρήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἰωνατ πείσειν, ή ἐπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιῆσεν ἀπόστους τοῖσι "Ἐλλησι".

99. Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίειν οἱ "Ἐλληνες· προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγαλόν. καὶ οὕτοι μὲν ἐτύσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἐλλήνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖσι "Ιωσὶ παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαρίους τὰ Ἐλλήνων φρονέειν ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὅπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὧν Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι υησὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἐλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ξέρξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἀθήνας τῷν εἰνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑποψίην είχον, πειτακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῷν Ξέρξεω

held their course for Mycale. When they came near to the camp and found none putting out to meet them, and saw the ships beached within the wall and a great host of men drawn up in array along the strand, Leutychides thereupon first coasted along in his ship, keeping as near to the shore as he could, and made this proclamation to the Ionians by the voice of a herald : " Men of Ionia, you that hear us, take heed of what I say ! for in no case will the Persians understand aught of my charge to you : when we join battle, let a man remember first his freedom, and next the battle-cry ' Hebe ' : and let him that hears me not be told of this by him that hears." The purpose of this act was the same as Themistocles' purpose at Artemisium<sup>1</sup>; either the message would be unknown to the foreigners and would prevail with the Ionians, or if it were thereafter reported to the foreigners it would make them to mistrust their Greek allies.

99. After this counsel of Leutychides, the Greeks next brought their ships to land and disembarked on the beach, where they put themselves in array. But the Persians, seeing the Greeks prepare for battle and exhort the Ionians, first of all took away the Samians' armour, suspecting that they favoured the Greeks; for indeed when the foreigners' ships brought certain Athenian captives, who had been left in Attica and taken by Xerxes' army, the Samians had set them all free and sent them away to Athens with provision for the way; for which cause in especial they were held suspect, as having set free five hundred souls of Xerxes' enemies.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. viii. 22

## HERODOTUS

πολεμίων λυτάμενοι. τοῦτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς  
τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι  
τοῖς Μιλησίοις φυλάσσειν ὡς ἐπισταμένοις δῆθεν  
μᾶλιστα τὴν χώρην. ἐποίειν δὲ τοῦτο  
τοῦδε εἰνεκεν, ἵνα ἔκτος τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔωσι.  
τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖς καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχρήστοις  
ἄν τι ποιέειν διγάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοις, τρόποισι  
τοιούτοισι προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτὸι δὲ  
συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναι σφίσι.

100. Ός δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι "Ἐλλησι,  
προσῆισαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ιοῦσι δέ σφι  
φίμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐι τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ  
κηρυκήσιον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματώγρης κείμενον· ἢ  
δὲ φίμη διῆλθε σφι ὡδε, ὡς οἱ "Ἐλληνες τὴν  
Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν νικῶσεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχό-  
μενοι. δῆλα δὴ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοισι ἐστὶ τὰ  
θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τοτε, τῇς αὐτῆς  
ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ  
τοῦ ἐν Μυκαλῇ μέλλοντος ἐσεσθαι τρώματος,  
φίμη τοῖσι "Ἐλλησι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπίκετο, ὥστε  
θαρσῆσαι τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ  
ἐθέλειν προθυμοτέρον κινδυνεύειν.

101. Καὶ τόδε ἔτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενος,  
Δῆμητρος τεμένεα "Ελευσινίς παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας  
τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῇσι  
παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὡς καὶ πρότερον  
μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκαλῇ ἐμελλε  
ώσαπτως ἐσεσθαι. γεγονέναι δὲ οὐκέτη τῶν μετὰ  
Πανσανίεω "Ελλήνων δρθῶς σφι ἡ φίμη συνέ-  
βαινε ἀλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι πρωὶ  
ἔτει τῇς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκαλῇ περὶ  
δεῖλην· ὅτι δὲ τῇς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε

Furthermore, they appointed the Milesians to guard the passes leading to the heights of Mycale, alleging that they were best acquainted with the country; but their true reason for so doing was, that the Milesians should be away from the rest of their army. In such manner did the Persians safeguard themselves from those Ionians who (they supposed) might turn against them if opportunity were given; for themselves, they set their shields close to make a barricade.

100. The Greeks, having made all preparation, advanced their line against the foreigners. As they went, a rumour sped all about the army, and a herald's wand was seen lying by the water-line; and the rumour that ran was to the effect that the Greeks were victors over Mardonius' army at a battle in Boeotia. Now there are many clear proofs of the divine ordering of things; seeing that at this time, the Persians' disaster at Platææ falling on the same day as that other which was to befall them at Mycale, the rumour came to the Greeks at that place, whereby their army was greatly heartened and the readier to face danger.

101. Moreover there was this other coincidence, that there were precincts of Eleusinian Demeter on both battlefields; for at Platææ the fight was hard by the temple of Demeter, as I have already said, and so it was to be at Mycale likewise. It so fell out that the rumour of victory won by the Greeks with Pausanias spoke truth; for the defeat of Platææ happened while it was yet early in the day, and the defeat of Mycale in the afternoon. That the two fell on the same day of the same

## HERODOTUS

γίνεοθαι μηδός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφι ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμαρθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ἦν δὲ ἄρρωδίη σφι, πρὸν τὴν φῆμιν ἐσπαixέσθαι, οὕτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὗτῷ ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίων πταίσῃ ή Ἑλλάς, ὡς μέντοι η κληδὼν αὗτη σφι ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλλον τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν δῆλα Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ Βάρβαροι ἐσπειδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὡς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀειθλα προέκειτο.

102. Τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι, μέχρι κού τῶν ἥμισέων, η ὁδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγαλόν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χῶρον, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τοιτοισι τεταγμένοισι κατά τε χαράδραν καὶ ὄρεα. ἐν μὲν δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήισαν, οὗτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ κέρει ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἔντος μέν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσησι ὄρθα ἦν τὰ γέρρα, ἥμινοντά τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλασσον εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ο στρατός, ὅκως ἀντῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι ἔργου εἶχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἡδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι φερόμενοι ἐσέπεισον ἀλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συχρόνῳ ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἐφενγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συμπεισπάμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραιρῆτο, οὕτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οἱ Βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγὴν τε ὄρμέατο οἱ ἀλλοι πλὴν Περσέων οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμά-

mouth was proved to the Greeks when they examined the matter not long afterwards. Now before this rumour came they had been faint-hearted, fearing less for themselves than for the Greeks with Pausanias, lest Marathon should be the stumbling-block of Hellas; but when the report sped among them they grew stronger and swifter in their onset. So Greeks and foreigners alike were eager for battle, seeing that the islands and the Hellespont were the prizes of victory.

102. As for the Athenians and those whose place was nearest them, that is, for about half of the line, their way lay over the beach and level ground; for the Lacedaemonians and those that were next to them, through a ravine and among hills; and while the Lacedaemonians were making a circuit, those others on the other wing were already fighting. While the Persians' shields stood upright, they defended themselves and held their own in the battle; but when the Athenians and their neighbours in the line passed the word and went more zealously to work, that they and not the Lacedaemonians might win the victory, immediately the face of the fight was changed. Breaking down the shields they charged all together into the midst of the Persians, who received the onset and stood their ground for a long time, but at the last fled within their wall; and the Athenians and Corinthians and Sicyonians and Trozenians, who were next to each other in the line, followed hard after and rushed in together likewise. But when the walled place was won, the foreigners made no further defence, but took to flight, all save the Persians, who gathered themselves into bands of a few men and fought

## HERODOTUS

χοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων,  
καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀπο-  
φεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι· Ἀρταβίτης μὲν καὶ  
Ἰθαμίτρης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες ἀπο-  
φεύγουσι, Μαρδόνιτης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρα-  
τηγὸς Τιγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.

103. "Ἐπι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκορτο  
λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ  
συνδιεχέριξον. ἐπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλ-  
λήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι  
καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως τῶν τε Σαμίων οἱ  
στρατεύμενοι ἔοντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ  
Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ δπλα, ὡς εἶδον  
αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γνομένην ἐτεραλκέων τὴν μά-  
χην, ἔρδον δοσον ἐδυνέατο προσωφελέειν ἐθέλοιτες  
τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. Σαμίους δὲ ἴδοντες οἱ ἄλλοι  
Ιωνες ἀρξαντας αὐτῷ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάρτες  
ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροισι.

104. Μιλησίοις δὲ προσετίτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν  
Περσέων τὰς διάδοντας τηρέειν σωτηρίης εἰνεκά σφι,  
ῶς ἦν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνη οὐα περ κατέλαβε,  
ἔχοντες ἥγεμόνας σώζουσται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς  
Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτα τὸ  
πρίγμα οἱ Μιλησίοι τούτου τε εἰνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ  
παρεόιτες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι γεοχμὸν ποιέοιεν  
οἱ δὲ πάν τούναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον,  
ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοι σφι ὅδον φεύγουσι, αἱ  
δὴ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι  
ἐγίροντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. αὐτῷ δὴ τὸ  
δεύτερον Ιωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπίστη.

with whatever Greeks came rushing within the walls. Of the Persian leaders two escaped by flight and two were slain; Artayntes and Ithamitres, who were admirals of the fleet, escaped; Mardonius and Tigeanes, the general of the land army, were slain fighting.

103. While the Persians still fought, the Lacedaemonians and their comrades came up, and finished what was left of the business. The Greeks too lost many men there, notably the men of Sicyon and their general Perilus. As for the Samians who served in the Median army, and had been disarmed, they, seeing from the first that victory hung in the balance,<sup>1</sup> did what they could in their desire to aid the Greeks; and when the other Ionians saw the Samians set the example, they also thereupon deserted the Persians and attacked the foreigners.

104. The Persians had for their own safety appointed the Milesians to watch the passes, so that if haply aught should befall the Persian army such as did befall it, they might have guides to bring them safe to the heights of Mycale. This was the task to which the Milesians were appointed, for the aforesaid reason, and that they might not be present with the army and so turn against it. But they did wholly contrariwise to the charge laid upon them; they misguided the fleeing Persians by ways that led them among their enemies, and at last themselves became their worst enemies and slew them. Thus did Ionia for the second time revolt from the Persians.

<sup>1</sup> Τρεπάεις here probably means "doubtful," giving victory to one side or other; cp. vii. 11; in Homer it means "decisive," giving victory to one as opposed to the other.

## HERODOTUS

105. Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήμων ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἐρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοίνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιου ἐπασκίστας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἐρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ἵστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἔόντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρῳ τῆς Καρυστίης χώρῃ ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικελίνοις ἡρίστευσαν.

106. Ἐπείτε δὲ κατεργάσαντα οἱ Ἑλληνες τὰς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄπαν, τὴν ληίην προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυρούς τινας χρημάτων εὑρούμπρησαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅκη χρεὸν εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγκρατέες ἥσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπείραι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐφαίνετο σφι εἴραι ἐωτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἐωτῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἰωνας οὐδεμίαν ἀλπίδα εἰχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλει ἑοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαῖα ἔξαναστήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώρην Ἰωσι ἐννικῆσαι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀράστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετερέων ἀποικιών βουλεύειν ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἰχαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι.

105. In that battle those of the Greeks that fought best were the Athenians, and the Athenian that fought best was one who practised the pancretium,<sup>1</sup> Hermolyceus son of Euthoenus. This Hermolyceus on a later day met his death in battle at Cyrus in Cerynus during a war between the Athenians and Cerynians, and lay dead on Geranesus. Those that fought best next after the Athenians were the men of Corinth and Trœzen and Sicyon.

106. When the Greeks had made an end of most of the foreigners, either in battle or in flight, they brought out their booty on to the beach, and found certain stores of wealth; then they burnt the ships and the whole of the wall, which having burnt they sailed away. When they were arrived at Samos, they debated in council whether they should dispeopple Ionia, and in what Greek lands under their dominion it were best to plant the Ionians, leaving the country itself to the foreigners; for it seemed to them impossible to stand on guard between the Ionians and their enemies for ever; yet if they should not so stand, they had no hope that the Persians would suffer the Ionians to go unpunished. In this matter the Peloponnesians that were in authority were for removing the people from the marts of those Greek nations that had sided with the Persians, and giving their land to the Ionians to dwell in; but the Athenians disliked the whole design of dispeopling Ionia, or suffering the Peloponnesians to determine the lot of Athenian colonies; and as they resisted hotly, the Peloponnesians

<sup>1</sup> The "pancretium" was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

## HERODOTUS

καὶ οὗτῳ δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους  
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγαπάτας, οἱ ἔτυχον συστρα-  
τευθμένοι τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιή-  
σαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὄρκιοισι ἐμ-  
μενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ  
καταλαβόντες ὄρκιοισι ἐπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύ-  
σοντες· ἦτι γὰρ ἔδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὑρίσκειν.  
οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἐπλεον.

107. Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ  
ἄκρα τῆς Μυκαιλῆς κατειληθέντων, ἔοντινον οὐ  
πολλῶν, ἐγίνετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις. πορευομένων  
δὲ κατ' ὅδον Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ  
πάθει τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταντῆρ  
ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακά, ἀλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς  
κακώ φὰς αὐτὸν εἴναι τοιαῦτα στρατηγήσαντα,  
καὶ ἄξιον είναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἰκου  
κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι γυναικὸς  
κακώ ἱκοῦσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἐστι. ὃ δὲ ἐπει  
πολλὰ ἥκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος σπάται ἐπὶ τὸν  
Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ  
μην ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεω  
ἀνὴρ Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς ὀπισθε ἐστεὼς αὐτοῦ Ἀρ-  
ταντεω ἀρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἔξαείρας παίει ἐς  
τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροις οἱ Μασίστεω  
προέστησαν. ὃ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο  
χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστῃ τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξῃ,  
ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἑκείνου· καὶ διὰ τούτο  
τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσῃς ἥρξε δόντος  
βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ' ὅδον πορευομένων οὐδὲν  
ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἀπικνέονται ἐς  
Σάρδιν.

108. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἐἰνι βασι-

yielded. Thus it came about that they admitted to their alliance the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and all other islanders who had served with their armaments, and bound them by pledge and oaths to remain faithful and not desert their allies; who being thus sworn, the Greeks set sail to break the bridges, supposing that these still held fast. So they laid their course for the Hellespont.

107. The few foreigners who escaped were driven to the heights of Mycale, and made their way thence to Sardis. While they were journeying on the road, Masistes son of Darius, who had chanced to be present at the Persian disaster, reviled the admiral Artayntes very bitterly, telling him (with much beside) that such generalship as his proved him worse than a woman, and that no punishment was too bad for the hurt he had wrought to the king's house. Now it is the greatest of all taunts in Persia to be called worse than a woman. These many insults so angered Artayntes, that he drew his sword upon Masistes to kill him; but Xenagoras son of Praxilaus of Halicarnassus, who stood behind Artayntes himself, saw him run at Masistes, and caught him round the middle and lifted and hurled him to the ground; meanwhile Masistes' guards came between them. By so doing Xenagoras won the gratitude of Masistes himself and Xerxes, for saving the king's brother; for which deed he was made ruler of all Cilicia by the king's gift. They went then on their way without any outcome of the matter, and came to Sardis.

108. Now it chanced that the king had been at

## HERODOTUS

λέντι ἐξ ἔκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπείτε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ φυγὴν ἀπίκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδιαι ἐών ἡρα τῆς Μασίστεω γυναικις, ἐούσῃς καὶ ταύτῃς ἐνθαῦτα. ὡς δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύτατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσεφέρετο προμηθεύμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην τῶντὸ δὲ ταῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναικα-εῦ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευχομένη· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἀλλων πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρᾳ τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἦν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ. ἄρμόστας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπῆλαντε ἐς Σοῦσα· ἐπει δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἥγαγετο ἐς ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ τὴν γυναικα, οὗτο δὴ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, οὐ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἡρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός· οὗτομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ἦν Ἀρταντῆ.

109. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπτυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξιθήνασα Ἀμηστρις ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ξέρξῃ. ὃ δὲ ἱσθεὶς περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀρταντῆν ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκέλευστε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὅ τι βούλεται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτίσσασαν. τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἐδεε παγοικίγ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπε Ξέρξης "Διό-σεις μοι τὸ ἄρ σε αἰτήσω;" ὃ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι ὑπισχρέετο καὶ ὥμοσε. Ἡ δὲ ὡς ὥμοσε ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος. Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖς ἐγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ' ἄλλο

Sardis ever since he came thither in flight from Athens after his overthrow in the sea-fight. Being then at Sardis he became enamoured of Masistes' wife, who was also at that place. But as all his messages could not bring her to yield to him, and he would not force her to his will, out of regard for his brother Masistes (which indeed wrought with the woman also, for she knew well that no force would be used with her), Xerxes found no other way to his purpose than that he should make a marriage between his own son Darius and the daughter of this woman and Masistes; for he thought that by so doing he would be likeliest to get her. So he betrothed them with all due ceremony, and rode away to Susa. But when he was come thither and had taken Darius' bride into his house, he thought no more of Masistes' wife, but changed about, and wooed and won this girl Artaynte, Darius' wife and Masistes' daughter.

109. But as time went on the truth came to light, and in such manner as I will show. Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wove and gave to him a great gaily-coloured mantle, wondrous to behold. Xerxes was pleased with it, and went wearing it to Artaynte; and being pleased with her too, he bade her ask for what she would have in return for her favours, for he would deny nothing at her asking. Therat—for she and all her house were doomed to evil—she said to Xerxes, "Will you give me whatever I ask of you?" and he promised and swore it, supposing that she would ask anything but that; but when he had sworn, she asked boldly for his mantle. Xerxes strove hard to refuse her, for no cause save

## HERODOTUS

μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεύμενος δὲ Ἀμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὸς  
κατικοῖσσι τὰ γυνάμενα οὗτοι ἐπειρεθῆ πρήσ-  
σαν· ἀλλὰ πόλεις τε ἑδίδουν καὶ χρυσὸν ἀπλετον  
καὶ στρατὸν, τοῦ ἔμελλε οὖσεις ἄρξειν ἀλλ' ή  
ἐκείνη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον.  
ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ ἐπειθε, διδοῖ τὸ φῦρος. ή δὲ περιχαρῆς  
ἔουσα τῷ δώρῳ ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἀγαπᾶτο.

110. Καὶ ή Ἀμηστρις πινθάνεται μιν ἔχονταν·  
μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ  
οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον, ἡ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα  
αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρόσσειν,  
τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε δλεθρον. φυλά-  
ξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἰωντῆς Ξέρξην βασιλήιον  
δεῖπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον παρα-  
σκευάζεται ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐμιαυτοῦ ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο  
βασιλεύς. οὔρυμα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τοιτῷ πέρσιστι  
μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τῇ Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τέλει-  
σαν τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμάται μοῖνον βασι-  
λεὺς καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται· ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην  
φυλάξασα ή Ἀμηστρις χρηζεῖ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐσ-  
θῆναι οἱ τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικα. ὃ δὲ δειπόν τε  
καὶ ἀνάρτιον ἐποιέετο τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναικα  
παραδοῖναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀγατίην ἔουσαν τοῦ πρήγ-  
ματος τούτου· συνῆκε γάρ τοῦ εἰρεκεν ἔσετο.

111. Τέλος μέρτοι ἐκείνης τε λιπαρεούσης καὶ  
ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργάμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι τὸν  
χρηζόντα οὖ σφι δυνατὸν ἐστι βασιληίου δείπνου  
προκειμένου, κύρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ  
παραδοὺς ποιέει ὥδε τῇ μὲν κελεύει ποιέει τῷ  
βούλεται, ὃ δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν  
λέγει τάδε. "Μασίστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς  
καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρός δὲ ἔτι τούτοισι καὶ εἰς

that he feared lest Amestris might have plain proof of his doing what she already guessed ; and he offered her cities instead, and gold in abundance, and an army for none but herself to command. Armies are the properest of gifts in Persia. But as he could not move her, he gave her the mantle ; and she, rejoicing greatly in the gift, went flaunting her finery.

110. Amestris heard that she had the mantle ; but when she learnt the truth her anger was not with the girl ; she supposed rather that the girl's mother was guilty and that this was her doing, and so it was Masistes' wife that she plotted to destroy. She waited therefore till Xerxes her husband should be giving his royal feast. This banquet is served once a year, on the king's birthday ; the Persian name for it is "takta," which is in the Greek language "perfect" ; on that day (and none other) the king anoints his head, and makes gifts to the Persians. Waiting for that day, Amestris then desired of Xerxes that Masistes' wife should be given to her. Xerxes held it a terrible and wicked act to give up his brother's wife, and that too when she was guiltless of the deed supposed ; for he knew the purpose of the request.

111. Nevertheless, Amestris being instant, and the law constraining him (for at this royal banquet in Persia every boon asked must of necessity be granted), he did very unwillingly consent, and delivered the woman to Amestris ; then, bidding her do what she would, he sent for his brother and thus spoke : "Masistes, you are Darius' son and my brother, yea, and a right good man ; hear me then ;

## HERODOTUS

άντηρ ἄγαθός· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ ρῦν συνοικέει  
μὴ συνοίκεε, ἀλλά τοι ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγα-  
τέρα τὴν ἐμὴν. ταύτῃ συνοίκεε τὴν δὲ ρῦν ἔχει,  
οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοὶ, μὴ ἔχε γυναικα." ὁ δὲ Μασί-  
στης ἵποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. "Ω-  
δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἀχρηστον, κελεύων  
με γυναικα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παιδές τε νεηνίαι εἰσὶ καὶ  
θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωντοῦ  
ἱγάγει γυναικα, αὐτῇ τέ μοι κατὰ ρύου τυγχάνει  
κάρτα ἑοῦσα· ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγα-  
τέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεὺς μεγάλα μὲν  
ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω  
μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιώ  
πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δέομενος ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυ-  
γατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἀλλος φαινήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἡσσων,  
ἐμέ τε ἂν γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικέειν." ὁ μὲν δὴ  
τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεῖς λέγει  
τάδε. "Οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται οὔτε  
γὰρ ἂν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὔτε  
ἐκείνη πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις, ὡς μάθης τὰ  
διδόμενα δέκεσθαι." ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἥκουσε, εἶπε  
τοσάνδε ἔχώρεε ἔξω "Δέσποτα, οὐ δῆ κώ με  
ἀπώλεσας.

112. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ  
Ξέρξῃ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ "Ἀμηστρις μετα-  
πεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω διαλυ-  
μαίνεται τὴν γυναικα τοῦ Μασίστεω τούς τε  
μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ῥῖνα καὶ  
ῶτα καὶ χεῖλεα καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἰκόν  
μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυματιμένην.

113. Ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν κω ἀκηκοώς τούτων,  
ἐλπόμενος δέ τι οἱ κακοὶ εἴραι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς  
290

you must live no longer with her who is now your wife. I give you my daughter in her place; take her for your own; but put away the wife that you have, for it is not my will that you should have her." At that Masistes was amazed: "Sire," he said, "what is this evil command that you lay upon me, bidding me deal thus with my wife? I have by her young sons and daughters, of whom you have taken a wife for your own son; and I am exceeding well content with herself; yet do you bid me put her away and wed your daughter? Truly, O king, I deem it a high honour to be accounted worthy of your daughter; but I will do neither the one nor the other. Nay, constrain me not to consent to such a desire; you will find another husband for your daughter as good as I; but suffer me to keep my own wife." Thus answered Masistes; but Xerxes was very angry, and said: "To this pass you are come, Masistes; I will give you no daughter of mine to wife, nor shall you longer live with her that you now have; thus shall you learn to accept that which is offered you." Hearing that, Masistes said nought but this: "Nay, sire, you have not destroyed me yet!" and so departed.

112. But in the meantime, while Xerxes talked with his brother, Amestris sent for Xerxes' guards and used Masistes' wife very cruelly; she cut off the woman's breasts and threw them to dogs, and her nose and ears and lips likewise, and cut out her tongue, and sent her home thus cruelly used.

113. Knowing nought as yet of this, but fearing evil, Masistes ran speedily to his house. Seeing the

## HERODOTUS

τὰ οἰκλα. ἴδωρ δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναικα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισὶ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σύν τε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ οἰστοῖς καὶ δῆ καὶ τισὶ καὶ ἄλλοισι ὡς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα τῷ περ ἄν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἔμοι δοκέειν, εἴ περ ἔφθη ἀναβὰς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γάρ ἐστεργόν μιν καὶ ἦν ὑπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γάρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκείνον πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιὴν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς παιδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω θύρατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

114. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὄρμηθέντες "Ελληνες ἐπ' "Ελλησπόντου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Δεκτὸν ὄρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκαιτο ἐς "Λιβύδον καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὑρον διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εύρισκειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἤκιστα εὑρεκεν ἐς τὸν "Ελλήσποντον ἀπίκαιτο. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίοισι ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν "Ελλάδα, "Λιθηναῖσι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπορείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονῆσαν. οἱ μὲν δῆ ἀπέπλεον, "Λιθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς "Λιβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

115. Ἐξ δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἔοντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτῃ, συνῆλθον, ὡς ἥκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς "Ελληνας ἐς τὸν "Ελλησπόντον, ἐκ τε τῶν ἀλλέων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δῆ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, δε τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικώς. εἶχον

bavoc made of his wife, straightway he took counsel with his children and set forth to journey to Bactra with his own sons (and others too, belike), purposing to raise the province of Bactra in revolt and work the king the greatest of harm; which he would have done, to my thinking, had he escaped up into the country of the Bactrians and Sacae; for they loved him well, and he was viceroy over the Bactrians. But it was of no avail; for Xerxes learnt his intent, and sent against him an army that slew him on his way, and his sons and his army withal. Such is the story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death.

114. The Greeks that had set out from Mycale for the Hellespont first lay to off Lectum<sup>1</sup> under stress of weather, and thence came to Abydos, where they found the bridges broken which they thought would be still holding fast, and indeed these were the chief cause of their coming to the Hellespont. The Peloponnesians then who were with Leutychides thus resolved that they would sail away to Hellas, but the Athenians, with Xanthippus their general, that they would remain there and attack the Chersonesus. So the rest sailed away, but the Athenians crossed over to the Chersonesus and laid siege to Sestus.

115. Now when the Persians heard that the Greeks were at the Hellespont, they had come in from the neighbouring towns and assembled at this same Sestus, seeing that it was the strongest walled place in that region; among them there was come from Cardia a Persian named Oeobatus, and he had carried thither the tackle of the bridges. Sestus was held

<sup>1</sup> At the western end of the bay of Adramyttium.

## HERODOTUS

δὲ ταῦτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολέες, συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι  
τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς δμιλος.

116. Ἐτυράννενε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω  
ὑπαρχος Ἀρταβλητης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης, δειπός δὲ  
καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ'  
Ἀθήνας ἔξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου  
χρήματα ἔξ "Ελαιοῦντος ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γὰρ  
Ἐλαιοῦντι τῇς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω  
τύφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἵνα ἦν χρήματα  
πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσεαι καὶ ἀργύρεαι καὶ  
χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆτες καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ  
Ἀρταβλητης ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόγτος. λέγων δὲ  
τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο. "Δέσποτα, ἐστι οἶκος  
ἀνδρὸς" Ελληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν σὴν στρατευ-  
σάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε τούτου μοι δὸς  
τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καὶ τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ  
στρατεύεσθαι." ταῦτα λέγον εὐπετέως ἔμελλε  
ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξην δαῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἴκον, οὐδὲν  
ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνεε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ  
τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλεων ἐλεγε  
ιούσιν τοιάδε τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἔωνταν  
εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπει δὲ  
ἔδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἔξ "Ελαιοῦντος ἐς Σηστὸν  
ἔξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο,  
αὐτὸς τε ὁκας ἀπίκοιτο ἐς "Ελαιοῦντα ἐν τῷ  
ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέετο  
ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὕτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορ-  
κίην οὕτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς "Ελληνας, ἀφύκτως  
δέ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

117. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισι σφι φυιόπτωραν  
ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἡσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπό τε τῆς

by the Aeolians of the country, but with him were Persians and a great multitude of their allies withal.

116. This province was ruled by Xerxes' viceroy Artayetes, a cunning man and a wicked; witness the deceit that he practised on the king in his march to Athens, how he stole away from Elaeus the treasure of Protesilaus<sup>1</sup> son of Iphiclus. This was the way of it: there is at Elaeus in the Chersonesus the tomb of Protesilaus, and a precinct about it, where was much treasure, with vessels of gold and silver, bronze, raiment, and other dedicated offerings: all of which Artayetes carried off, by the king's gift. "Sire," he said deceitfully to Xerxes, "there is here the house of a certain Greek, who met a just death for invading your territory with an army; give me this man's house, whereby all may be taught not to invade your territory." It was to be thought that this plea would easily persuade Xerxes to give him a man's house, having no suspicion of Artayetes' meaning; whose reason for saying that Protesilaus had invaded the king's territory was, that the Persians believe all Asia to belong to themselves and whosoever is their king. So when the treasure was given him, he carried it away from Elaeus to Sestus, and planted and farmed the precinct; and he would come from Elaeus and have intercourse with women in the shrine. Now, when the Athenians laid siege to him, he had made no preparation for it, nor thought that the Greeks would come, and he had no way of escape from their attack.

117. But the siege continuing into the late autumn, the Athenians grew weary of their absence

<sup>1</sup> The first Greek to fall in the Trojan war, *πρῶτος Ἀττικόνερος* (Hom. *Iliad* 7. 701).

## HERODOTUS

έωυτῶν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἔξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέουντό τε τῷ στρατηγῷ ὅκως ἀπάγοιεν σφέας ὅπιστι, οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὶν ἡ ἐξέλωσι ή τὸ Ἀθηναῖσι κοινόν σφέας μεταπέμψηται οὕτω δὴ ἐστεργον τὰ παρεόντα.

118. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει ἦσαν πᾶν ἥδη κακοῦ, ἀπιγμένοι ήσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἔφοιτες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο. Ἐπείτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον, οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα σίχοντο ἀποδράντες οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταūκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὅπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες, τῇ ἦν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων. ἀς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησῖται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηραν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ γεγονός καὶ τὰς πύλας ἄνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῦτες ἐδίωκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον.

119. Οἰόβαζον μὲν νῦν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐτὸν Θρηίκην Θρηίκες Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἀλλοι τρόπῳ ἐφόρευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταūκτην ὅστεροι ὄρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὡς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλέγον ἔοντες ὑπὲρ Λίγας ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχρόνῳ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ συνθήσαντες σφέας οἱ Ἑλληνες ἤγον ἐς Σηστόν, μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταūκτην δεδεμένον πύτον τε καὶ τὸν παιᾶν αὐτοῦ.

120. Καὶ τεῷ τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησῖτέων ταρίχους ὄπτωντι τέρας γενέσθαι

from home and their ill success at taking the fortress, and entreated their generals to lead them away again; but the generals refused to do that, till they should take the place or be recalled by the Athenian state. Thereat the men endured their plight patiently.

118. But they that were within the walls were by now brought to the last extremity, insomuch that they boiled the thongs of their beds for food; but at the last even these failed them, and Artayetes and Oeobazus and all the Persians made their way down from the back part of the fortress, where their enemies were scarcest, and fled away at nightfall. When morning came, the people of the Chersonesus signified from their towers to the Athenians what had happened, and opened their gates; and the greater part of the Athenians going in pursuit, the rest stayed to hold the town.

119. Oeobazus made to escape into Thrace; but the Apsinthians of that country caught and sacrificed him after their fashion to Plisitrons the god of their land; as for his companions, they slew them in another manner. Artayetes and his company had begun their flight later, and were overtaken a little way beyond the Goat's Rivers,<sup>1</sup> where after they had defended themselves a long time some of them were slain and the rest taken alive. The Greeks bound and carried them to Sestos, and Artayetes and his son likewise with them in bonds.

120. It is told by the people of the Chersonesus that a marvellous thing befell one of them that

<sup>1</sup> A roadstead opposite Lampsacus: the rivers were probably two small streams that flow into the sea there (How and Wells).

## HERODOTUS

τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἡσπαιρον ὅκως περ ἰχθύες μεσάλωται. καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἴθωμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταῦκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὄπτωντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη "Ξένε 'Αθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιούντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεώς καὶ τάριχος ἔνη δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. μῦν ὥν ἀποινά μοι τάδε ἔθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκάσια 'Αθηναίοισι περιγενόμενος." ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἐπειθεὶς οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ τιμωρέαντες ἔδεοντά μν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτη γόσις ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔζευξη τὸν πόρον, οἱ δὲ λέγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος, πρὸς σαιδας προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέμασται τὸν δὲ παιδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ Ἀρταῦκτεω κατέλευσαν.

121. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὰ τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἀγοντες καὶ δῆ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά. καὶ κατὰ το ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

122. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταῦκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμιζάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Νέρσης ἐξιγησάμενος λόγον τὸν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπολαβόντες

guarded Artayetes: he was frying dried fishes, and these as they lay over the fire began to leap and writhe as though they were fishes newly caught. The rest gathered round, amazed at the sight; but when Artayetes saw the strange thing, he called him that was frying the fishes and said to him: "Sir Athenian, be not afraid of this portent; it is not to you that it is sent; it is to me that Protesilaus of Elaeus would signify that though he be dead and dry he has power given him by heaven to take vengeance on me that wronged him. Now therefore I offer a ransom, to wit, payment of a hundred talents to the god for the treasure that I took from his temple; and I will pay to the Athenians two hundred talents for myself and my son, if they spare us." But Xanthippus the general was unmoved by this promise; for the people of Elaeus entreated that Artayetes should be put to death in justice to Protesilaus, and the general himself likewise was so minded. So they carried Artayetes away to the headland where Xerxes had bridged the strait (or, by another story, to the hill above the town of Madytus), and there nailed him to boards and hanged him aloft; and as for his son, they stoned him to death before his father's eyes.

121. This done, they sailed away to Hellas, carrying with them the tackle of the bridges to be dedicated in their temples, and the rest of the stuff withal. And in that year nothing further was done.

122. This Artayetes who was crucified was grandson to that Artembares<sup>1</sup> who instructed the Persians in a design which they took from him and laid

<sup>1</sup> There is an Artembares in i. 114; but he is a Mede, and so can hardly be meant here.

## HERODOTUS

Κύρῳ προσῆγεικαν λέγοντα τάδε. "Ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς  
Πέρσησι ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ Κύρε,  
κατελῶν Ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα  
ὅληγην καὶ ταῦτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ  
ταῦτης ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἀμείνων. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ  
μὲν ἀστυγείτονες πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἑκαστέρω, τῷρ  
μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι.  
οἰκὸς δὲ ἄνδρας ἀρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιέειν κότε  
γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ή δτε γε ἀνθρώπων  
τε πολλῶν ἀρχομένων πάσις τε τῆς Ἀσίης;" Κύρος  
δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θιωμέσας τὸν λόγον  
ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραινεε  
κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἀρξοντας  
ἄλλ' ἀρξομένους φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν  
χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι· οὐ γάρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς  
γῆς εἶναι καρπόν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας  
ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὥστε συγγυνώντες Πέρσαι  
οἰχούντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς  
Κύρου, ἀρχεῖν τε εἶλοντο λυπρήν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον  
ἢ πεδιῆδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

before Cyrus; this was its purport: "Seeing that Zeus grants lordship to the Persian people, and to you, Cyrus, among them, by bringing Astyages low, let us now remove out of the little and rugged land that we possess and take to ourselves one that is better. There be many such on our borders, and many further distant; if we take one of these we shall have more reasons for renown. It is but reasonable that a ruling people should act thus; for when shall we have a fairer occasion than now, when we are lords of so many men and of all Asia?" Cyrus heard them, and found nought to marvel at in their design; "Do so," said he; "but if you do, make ready to be no longer rulers, but subjects. Soft lands breed soft men; wondrous fruits of the earth and valiant warriors grow not from the same soil." Thereat the Persians saw that Cyrus reasoned better than they, and they departed from before him, choosing rather to be rulers on a barren mountain side than slaves dwelling in tilled valleys.



## INDEX

(“Xerxes’ march” and “Xerxes’ army” refer always to the invasion of Greece in 480 B.C.)

Abae, an oracular shrine in Phocis, I. 46, VIII. 27, 33, 134  
Ablantes, an Euboean tribe, I. 146  
Abaris, a legendary Hyperborean, IV. 36  
Abdara, a town of Thrace on the Nestus, I. 168, VI. 46, VII. 109, 120, 126; Xerxes’ first halt in his flight, VIII. 120.  
Abrocomes, son of Darius, killed at Thermopylae, VII. 224  
Abronichus, an Athenian, VIII. 21.  
Abydos, a town on the Hellespont, V. 117; Xerxes’ bridge there, VII. 33 foll., 43, 44, 45, 55, 147, 174, VIII. 117, 130, IX. 114  
Ananthus, in Chalcidice, on the isthmus of Mt. Athos, one of Xerxes’ chief halting-places on his march, VI. 44, VII. 115–117, 121, 124  
Acarnania, in N.W. Greece, II. 10, VII. 126  
Aceratus, a Delphian prophet, VIII. 37  
Aces, a river alleged to be E. of the Caspian, III. 117  
Achaeans, their expulsion of Ionians from Greece, I. 145; in the Trojan war, II. 120; at Croton, VIII. 47; the only stock which has never left the Peloponnese, VIII. 73. Achaeans of Phthiotis, VII. 132, 173, 185–197. Achaea in the Peloponnese, VII. 94, VIII. 36  
Achæostenes, (1) son of Darius; governor of Egypt under Xerxes, VII. 7; one of Xerxes’ admirals, VII. 97; his advice to Xerxes to keep the fleet together, VII. 230; his death, III. 12. (2) Farthest ancestor of Cyrus, III. 75, VII. 11  
Achaemenid, dynasty in Persia, I. 125, III. 65  
Achaeus, a legendary eponymous hero, II. 98  
Achelöös, a river of N.W. Greece, VII. 126; compared with the Nile, II. 10  
Acheron, a river of N.W. Greece, VIII. 47; its glen supposed to be a passage to the world of the dead, V. 92

## INDEX

Achilleum, a town in Asia Minor near the mouth of the Scamander, v. 94  
Aeolis, "Rae" of, a strip of land on the Pontic coast, iv. 55, 76  
Acmephia, a town near the Copais lake in Boeotia, viii. 135  
Aetnæas (Agrigentum), vii. 165, 170  
Acritus, father of Deneō, vi. 53  
Aerobium, a town on the promontory of Athos, vii. 22  
Adeimantus, Corinthian admiral at Salamis, vii. 137, viii. 5, 39, 61, 94  
Adieran, a Libyan king, iv. 169  
Adrastus, (1) son of Gordias, a Phrygian refugee at Croesus' court, i. 35-45. (2) Son of Talaus, an Argive hero, v. 67 foll.  
Adriatic sea, i. 163, iv. 33, v. 9  
Adyrmachidae, a Libyan tribe, iv. 168  
Aea, in Colchis, i. 2, vii. 193, 197  
Aeaces, of Samos, (1) father of Polyortes, ii. 182, iii. 39, 139, vi. 13. (2) Son of Sylloson, vi. 13; confirmed as despot of Samos by the Persians, vr. 22, 25  
Aeacus and Agacidae, local heroes worshipped in Aegina, v. 80, v. 89, vi. 36, viii. 64, 83  
Aegae, in Argolis, i. 145  
Aegaeæ, Aeolian town in Achaea, i. 149  
Aegaeæan sea, ii. 97, 113, iv. 85, vii. 36, 55  
Aegaleos, the hill in Attica whence Xerxes saw the battle of Salamis, viii. 90  
Aege, a town in Pallene, vii. 123  
Aeges, (1) son of Oeolyces, a Spartan, iv. 149. (2) Son of Pantion, king of Athena, i. 173  
Aeginæans, a "Pelasgian" people, vii. 94; of Sicyon, v. 68  
Aegialeus, son of Adrastus of Sicyon, v. 68  
Aegicores, a legendary Athenian, son of Ion, v. 66  
Aeginae, a Spartan clan, iv. 149  
Aegina, a district of Eubœa, vi. 101  
Aegina, island in the Saronic gulf, iii. 69, 131, vii. 147, viii. 41, 60; feuds with Athens, v. 84-89, vi. 88-92, vii. 144; Cleomenes in Aegina, vi. 50, 61; Aeginetan hostages, vi. 85; Fleet, viii. 46; Aeginetans in battle of Salamis, viii. 84, 91-93; offerings at Delphi, viii. 122; Aeginetans at Plataea, ix. 28, 78, 85  
Aegina, legendary daughter of Asopus, v. 80  
Aegim, in Argolis, i. 145

## INDEX

Aegiroessa, Aeolian town in Asia Minor, I. 149  
 Aegium, in Argolis, I. 145  
 Aeglea, an island in the Aegean, VI. 107  
 Aegli, a tribe in the Persian empire, near Bactria, III. 92  
 Argaspolami, on the Thracian coast near the Hellespont, IX. 119  
 Aelinomestus, a Spartan, conspirator at Plataea, IX. 54  
 Aenus, a town on the Thermaic gulf, VII. 123  
 Aenesidemus, an officer of Xerxes in Sicily, VII. 154, 165  
 Attus, a town at the mouth of the Hebrus, IV. 90, VII. 58  
 Aenyrus, a place in Thasos, VI. 47  
 Aeolians, their conquest by Croesus, I. 6, 26; resistance to Cyrus, I. 141, 152; their settlements in Asia, I. 149-152; in the armies of Harpagus, I. 171; part of a Persian province, III. 90; in Darius' Scythian expedition, IV. 89, 138; reconquest by Persians, V. 192; in Ionian revolt, VI. 8, 28; part of Xerxes' fleet, VII. 95; Sestus an Aeolian town, IX. 115; Thessaly originally Aeolian, VII. 170; (often mentioned with Ionians, to denote Greek colonists in Asia.)  
 Aeolaine, a town in Phocis, VIII. 35  
 Aeolus, father of Athanas, VII. 197  
 Aetropus, (1) a descendant of Temenus, VIII. 137. (2) Son of Philippus, king of Macedonia, VIII. 139  
 Aezaenus, a man of Thera, IV. 150  
 Aeschines, a leading Eretrian, VI. 100  
 Aeschrus, an Athenian, VIII. 11  
 Aeschrionians, a Samian clan, III. 26  
 Aeschylus, the Athenian poet, reference to one of his plays, II. 150  
 Aesopus, the chronicler, II. 134  
 Aetolians, VI. 127, VIII. 73 (Elis the only Aetolian part of the Peloponnesus).  
 Agaeus, of Elis, VI. 127  
 Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, I. 67, IV. 103, VII. 150  
 Agariste, (1) daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, VI. 126, 130 foll.  
     (2) Daughter of Hippocrates of Athens, VI. 131  
 Agasicles, of Halicarnassus, I. 144  
 Agathyrsi, a tribe on the Scythian borders, IV. 49, 100, 102, 119,  
     125; their customs, IV. 104  
 Agathyrus, son of Heracles, IV. 10  
 Agabulus, an Aradian, VII. 98  
 Agbatana, (1) Persian capital in Media, I. 110, 153, III. 64, 92;  
     plan of, I. 98. (2) In Syria, Cambyses' death there, III. 64  
 Agenor, father of Cadmus, IV. 147, VII. 91

## INDEX

Agetus, a Spartan, vi. 61  
Agis, king of Sparta, vi. 65  
Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, her shrine at Athens, viii. 53  
Aglomaelus, his tower at Cyrene, iv. 164  
Agora, a town in the Chersonese of Thrace, vii. 58  
Agrionnes, (1) a Paeonian tribe, v. 16. (2) A tributary of the Hebrus, iv. 90  
Agron, king of Sardis, i. 7  
Agyllei, an Etruscan tribe, i. 167  
Aias, son of Aeacus, a hero of the Trojan war, v. 66, vi. 35, viii. 64, 121  
Alabama, a town in Caria, vii. 195; another alleged to be in Phrygia, viii. 138.  
Alalia, a town in Corsica inhabited by the Phocaeans, i. 165  
Alarodil, a tribe in the Persian empire, E. of Armenia, iii. 94, vii. 79  
Abuzir, king of Barca, iv. 164  
Alazones, a tribe in or adjacent to Scythia, iv. 17, 52  
Alceus, (1) son of Heracles, i. 7. (2) The lyric poet, his poem on a battle between Athenians and Mytilenaeans, v. 95  
Alcamedes, a Spartan king, son of Teleclus, vii. 204  
Alessor, an Argive, one of three survivors of a battle between Argos and Ineadaemon, i. 82  
Alcetes, king of Macedonia, son of Aeërops, viii. 130  
Alcibiades, an Athenian, father of Clinias, viii. 17  
Alcides, a Spartan, vi. 81  
Alcimachus, an Eretrian, vi. 101  
Alcmena, mother of Heracles, ii. 43, 145  
Alcmeon, an Athenian, i. 59; enriched by Croesus, vi. 125. His son and descendants, enemies of Pisistratus, i. 61, 64, v. 62; under a curse for killing Cylon, v. 70; suspected of collusion with Persians after Marathon, vi. 115, 121–124; Megacles, the successful suitor for the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, vi. 125, 131  
Alcon, a Molossian suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127  
Aeon, local name of Athene at Tegea, i. 66, ix. 70  
Aeolian plain in Cilicia, the rendezvous for Datis' army, vi. 95  
Alevadæ, the ruling family in Thessaly, vii. 6, 140, 172, ix. 58  
Alexander, (1) son of Priam (Paris), i. 3; in Egypt, ii. 113–120. (2) King of Macedonia, son of Amyntas; his treatment of Persian envoys, v. 19–21; claim to be a Greek, v. 22; advice to Greeks, vii. 173; his ancestors, viii. 137–139; an inter-

## INDEX

mediary between Persia and Athens, viii. 140-144; information given by him to the Greeks before Plataea, ix. 41-46  
Alilat, an Arabian deity identified with Aphrodite, iii. 8  
Alopeeno, a dome of Attica, v. 63  
Alpeni or Alpenus, a village behind the Greek position at Thermopylae, vii. 176, 216, 229  
Alpheus, a Spartan, distinguished at Thermopylae, vii. 227  
Alpis, a tributary of the Danube, flowing apparently from the eastern Alps, iv. 49  
Alus, in Achaea, vii. 173; tradition and ceremonial there, viii. 107  
Alyattes, king of Lydia, father of Croesus, his war with Miletus, i. 10-25; protection of Scythians against Media, i. 73; his tomb, i. 93  
Amasis, (1) king of Egypt, visited by Solon, i. 30; alliance with Croesus, i. 77; place in Egyptian chronology, ii. 43, 145; his Greek guard, ii. 154; his revolt against Apries, ii. 102, 169; his death, iii. 10; Cambyses' treatment of his body, iii. 16; friendship of Amasis and Polycrates, iii. 39-43. (2) A Marenian, commander of Persian army against Barca, iv. 167, 201, 203  
Anambar, a town in Cyprus, its refusal to revolt against Persia, v. 104  
Amazons, their intermarriage with Scythians, iv. 110-117; story of Athenian victory over them, ix. 27  
Amestris, wife of Xerxes, vii. 61, 114; her revenge on a rival, ix. 100-112  
Aminatus of Trapezus, an Areopalian suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127  
Amilcas, king of Carthage, defeated by Gelon, vii. 165-167  
Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, distinguished at Salamis, viii. 84-93  
Aminocles of Magnesia, enriched by Persian shipwreck at Sepias, vii. 190  
Ammon (or Amun), an oracular deity in Libya, identified with Zeus, i. 46, ii. 32, 55  
Ammonians, a colony from Egypt and Ethiopia, ii. 42; on the route from Egypt to N.W. Africa, iv. 181; Cambyses' expedition against them, iii. 25, 26  
Antonapharetus, Spartan commander of the "Pitane battalions," his refusal to quit his post at Plataea, ix. 53-57  
Antorges, a Persian general, v. 121

## INDEX

Ampe, a town on the Persian gulf, near the mouth of the Tigris, vi. 20

Ampelus, a promontory in Chalcidice, vii. 122

Amphibrotus, a legendary Greek hero, iii. 91; his oracular shrine, i. 46, 49, 52, 92, viii. 134

Amphicæa, a Phœcian town, viii. 33

Amphicterates, king of Samos, iii. 59

Amphictyonies, council of a confederacy of states in N.E. Greece, ii. 180, v. 62, vii. 200, 213, 228. An eponymous hero Amphictyon, vii. 200

Amphilochus, a legendary hero, son of Amphiaraus, iii. 91, vii. 91

Amphyllitus, an Acaeanian diviner, i. 62

Anaphimnestus of Epidamnus, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127

Amphissa, a town in Boeotia, a refuge for some Delphians when threatened by Xerxes, viii. 32, 39

Amphion, a Corinthian of the Bacchidæ clan, grandfather of the despot Cypselus, v. 92

Amphitryon, alleged father of Heracles, ii. 43, 146, v. 59, vi. 63

Ampræciots, in N.W. Greece, part of the Greek fleet, viii. 45; in Pausanias' army, ix. 28

Amyntas, (1) king of Macedonia, father of Alexander, v. 94, vii. 173, viii. 130, 139, ix. 44; Persian envoys sent to him, v. 17-19. (2) A Persian, son of Bubares and grandson of Amyntas of Macedonia, viii. 136

Amrygii, a tribe of the Sæcæ, vii. 64

Amuria, a man of Siris, vi. 127

Amyrtaeus, one of the later kings of Egypt, ii. 140, iii. 15

Amytheon, father of the seer Melampus, ii. 49

Anacharsis, a Scythian phil-Hellen, iv. 46, 76

Anaximenes of Teos, the poet, iii. 121

Anactorians, a people of N.W. Greece, ix. 28

Anagyrtus, a deme of Attica, viii. 93

Anaphes, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 62

Anaphlystus, a deme of Attica, iv. 99

Annoa, a town in Phrygia, vii. 30

Anaxandrides, (1) a Spartan, son of Theopompus, ancestor of Lestychides, viii. 131. (2) King of Sparta, son of Leon; contemporary with Croesus, i. 67; father of Cleomenes, Dorieus, Leocidas, and Cleombrotus, v. 59, vii. 168, 204, viii. 71

## INDEX

Anaxandrus, a king of Sparta, vii. 204  
 Anaxilaus, (1) a Spartan, son of Archidamus, ancestor of Leontichides, viii. 131. (2) Despot of Rhagium, son of Cretinus, vi. 23; an ally of the Carthaginians in Sicily, vii. 165  
 Anchimolus, a Spartan general, v. 63  
 Andreas of Sleyen, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 126  
 Androclitus, a Delphian, vii. 141  
 Androcrites, a local hero worshipped at Plataea, ix. 25  
 Androdamas, a Samian, viii. 85, ix. 90  
 Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus and wife of Perseus, vii. 61, 150  
 Androphagi, a people adjacent to Scythia, iv. 18, 100, 102, 119, 125; their customs, iv. 106  
 Andros, in the Aegean, iv. 33, v. 31, viii. 108; besieged by Themistocles, viii. 111; Andrians in the Persian fleet, viii. 68  
 Aneristus, (1) a Spartan, father of Sperthias, vii. 137. (2) Grandson of (1), Herodotus' theory that his death was caused by the wrath of Talthybius, vii. 137  
 Angites, a tributary of the Strymon, vii. 113  
 Angrus, a river in Illyria, iv. 49  
 Annen, a Carthaginian, father of Amilcas, vii. 165  
 Anopasa, the mountain pass which turned the Greek position at Thermopylae, vii. 240  
 Antagoras, a man of Coe, ix. 79  
 Antandrus, a town in the Troad, v. 28, vii. 42  
 Anthela, a village near the pass of Thermopylae, vii. 176  
 Anthemus, a town in Macedonia, v. 94  
 Anthylla, a town in the Delta, ii. 97  
 Antichares, a man of Eleon, v. 43  
 Antieyra, a town in Malis, on the Sperchous, vii. 198, 213  
 Antidorus, a Lernian deserter to the Greeks from the Persian fleet, viii. 11  
 Antiochus, an Eleon, ix. 33  
 Antipatrus, a Thasian, chosen by his countrymen to provide for Xerxes' reception, vii. 118  
 Antiphemus, of Lindus, founder of Gela in Sicily, vii. 163  
 Anysis, (1) (and Anysian province of Egypt), inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 137, 166. (2) A blind king of Egypt, his expulsion by Ethiopians, ii. 137, 140  
 Aparytas (possibly the modern Afridi), a tribe in the eastern part of the Persian empire, iii. 91

## INDEX

Apaturia, an Athenian festival celebrated in the month Pyanepson, i. 147.

Aphetae, in Magnesia, on the Paganean gulf, station of Xerxes' fleet, vii. 193, 196; storm and shipwreck there, viii. 12.

Aphidna, a deme of Attica, ix. 73.

Aphrodisias, an island off the coast of Libya, iv. 160.

Aphrodite, worshipped in Cyprus and Cythere, i. 105; in Cyrene, ii. 181; in Egypt (Hathor), ii. 41, 112; other local cults under various names, i. 105, 131, 199, iii. 8, iv. 59, 67.

Aphthite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior clans, ii. 196.

Apia, a Scythian goddess, iv. 50.

Apidanus, a river of Thessaly, vii. 129, 190.

Apis, (1) the sacred calf of Egypt, ii. 38, 153; Cambyses' sacrilegious treatment of Apis, iii. 27-29. (2) An Egyptian town, ii. 18.

Apollo, i. 87, vii. 26; cult at Delos and Delphi, i. 59, 91, iv. 143, 155, vi. 80, 118; other local cults, i. 52, 69, 92, 144, ii. 83, 144, 155 (Horus), ii. 159, 178, iii. 52, iv. 59, 158, v. 59-61, viii. 33, 134.

Apollonia, (1) a town on the Euxine sea, iv. 50, 93. (2) A town on the Ionic gulf, ix. 90.

Apollophanes, a man of Abydos, vi. 26.

Apries, a king of Egypt, deposed by Amasis, ii. 161-163; his death, ii. 169; marriage of his daughter to Cambyses, iii. 1; his expedition against Cyrene, iv. 150.

Apsinthi, a tribe near the Chersonese (promontory of Gallipoli), vi. 34, 36, ix. 119.

Arabia, its customs, i. 131, 198, iii. 8; invasion of Egypt by Arabians and Assyrians, ii. 141; geography, ii. 8, 11, 15, 18, iii. 7; home of the phoenix and flying serpents, ii. 73, 75; natural history, iii. 107-113; part of Persian empire, iii. 91, 97.

Arabian gulf (Red Sea), ii. 11, 102, 158, iv. 39, 42. Arabians in Xerxes' forces, vii. 69, 86, 184.

Aradus, of the island Aradus, off the Phoenician coast, vii. 98.

Ararus, an alleged tributary of the Danube, iv. 48.

Araxes, a river flowing from the west into the Caspian (but apparently confused by Herodotus with other rivers), i. 202, 205, iii. 36, iv. 11, 40; crossed by Cyrus when invading the Massagetae, i. 209-211.

Arachin, its relations with Sparta, i. 66; a Pelaean people, i. 310.

## INDEX

146; preservation of the cult of Demeter, II. 171; Cleomenes in Arcadia, VI. 74; Arcadian settlements in Cyprus, VII. 96; Arcadians at Thermopylae, VII. 202; Arcadian deserters to Xerxes, VIII. 26; Arcadians in the Greek army on the Isthmus, VIII. 72 (other unimportant refs.)

Arcesilaus, name of three kings of Cyrene. (1) Son of Battus, IV. 159. (2) Son of another Battus, IV. 180. (3) Son of a third Battus, his treatment of political enemies, IV. 162-164; his death, IV. 164.

Archandrus, son-in-law of Danaus, an Egyptian town called after him, II. 98.

Archelai, a Scyrian tribe so named by Cleisthenes of Sicyon, V. 68.

Archelaus, a king of Sparta, VII. 204.

Archeatratides, a Samian, IX. 90.

Archias, (1) a Spartan, his exploit in the Laconian attack on Polycrates of Samos, III. 55. (2) Grandson of the above, honour paid him by the Samians, III. 55.

Archidemus, (1) a Spartan, one of Leutychides' ancestors, son of Anaxandrides, VIII. 131. (2) A king of Sparta, son of Zeuxidemus, VI. 71.

Archidice, a courtesan of Naucratis, II. 135.

Archilochus of Paros, inventor of the iambic metre, I. 12.

Arderica, (1) a village in Assyria, I. 185. (2) A place near Susa, VI. 119.

Andys, king of Lydia, son of Gyges, I. 15.

Aréi, a tribe of the Persian empire, their tribute, III. 93.

Areopagus at Athens, VIII. 52.

Area, VII. 140, VIII. 77; local cults, in Egypt, II. 36, 59, 83; in Scythia, IV. 59-62; in Thrace, V. 7, VII. 76.

Argades, son of Ion, his name given to one of the four ancient Athenian tribes, V. 68.

Argaeus, a king of Macedonia, son of Perdiccas, VIII. 139.

Arganthonea, king of Tauris (at the mouth of the Gundalquivir), his friendship with the Phoenicians, I. 163, 165.

Arge and Opis, two maidens fabled to have come from the Hyperboreans to Delos, IV. 35.

Argea, wife of Aristodemus, king of Sparta, VI. 52.

Argilius, a town west of the Strymon, VII. 115.

Argimpasa, a Scythian goddess identified with Aphrodite, IV. 59, 67.

Argiophum, a place near Plataea, IX. 57.

## INDEX

Argippaei, a primitive people adjacent to Scythia, said to be bald, iv. 23.

Argo, voyage of the ship to Libya, iv. 179; to Colchis, viii. 192.

Argos and Argives, Jo carried off from Argos, i. 1, 5; war between Sparta and Argos, i. 82; Argive musicians, iii. 131; Cadmeans expelled from Boeotia by Argives, v. 57, 61; war with Sicyon, v. 87; Argive tribes, v. 88; alliance with Aegina against Athens, v. 86-89; war against Sparta, vi. 75-84; quarrel with Aegina, vi. 92; Argive neutrality in the Persian war, vii. 145-152; good offices to Mardonius, ix. 12; madness of Argive women, ix. 34.

Argus, a local hero, his temple violated by Cleomenes, vi. 75-82.

Ariabignes, a Persian general, son of Darius, vii. 87; killed at Salamis, viii. 80.

Ariantus, a king of Scythia, iv. 81.

Ariapithes, a king of Scythia, iv. 78.

Ariaramnes, (1) a Persian, viii. 90. (2) Son of Teispes, an ancestor of Xerxes, vii. 11.

Ariamus, a Persian, vii. 82.

Aridolis, despot of Alabanda in Caria, vii. 195.

Arii, a Median people, vii. 62.

Arimaepi, a fabled northern people, said to be one-eyed, iii. 116, iv. 13, 14, 27.

Arimnestus, a Platæan, ix. 72.

Actionardus, (1) a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Artabans, vii. 67. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Darius, vii. 78.

Arion, a minstrel of Methymna, story of his rescue from death by a dolphin, i. 23, 24.

Ariphron, an Athenian, Pericles' grandfather, vi. 131, viii. 33, viii. 131.

Arisba, a town of Lesbos, i. 151.

Aristagoras, (1) despot of Cyzicus, iv. 138. (2) A Samian, ix. 60. (3) Despot of Cyme, iv. 138, v. 37. (4) A Milesian, organiser of the Ionic revolt against Darius, v. 30-38, vi. 1, 6, 9, 13, 18; his appeal to Sparta, v. 40-55; to Athens, v. 65, 97-100; his flight and death, v. 124-126.

Aristeas, (1) a Corinthian, son of Adeimantus, vii. 137. (2) A Proconnesian poet, son of Caiystrobius, his travels in the north, disappearance and subsequent reappearance after 340 years, iv. 13-16.

Aristides, an Athenian, ostracised by the people, his conference

## INDEX

with Themistocles before Salamis, **viii.** 79-82; his part in the battle, **viii.** 95; at Plataea, **ix.** 28

Aristocrates, an Argian, **vi.** 73

Aristocyprus, king of the Solii, a leader in the Cyprian revolt against Persia, **v.** 113

Aristodemus, (1) sole survivor of the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae, **vii.** 220-231; his death at Plataea, **ix.** 71. (2) A king of Sparta, **vi.** 52, **vii.** 204, **viii.** 131

Aristodemos of Cyrene, **i.** 158

Aristogiton, one of the murderers of Hipparchus, **v.** 55, **vi.** 109-123

Aristonikas, an Athenian, **i.** 59

Aristomachus, a king of Sparta, **vi.** 52, **vii.** 204, **viii.** 131

Ariston, (1) king of Sparta temp. Croesus, **i.** 67, **v.** 75, **vi.** 51, 61-69. (2) Despot of Byzantium, **iv.** 138

Aristonice, Pythian priestess temp. Xerxes' invasion, **vii.** 140

Aristonymus of Sicyon, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, **vi.** 126

Aristophantos, a Delphian, **vi.** 66

Aristophilides, king of Tarsus (Tarantum), **iii.** 136

Arizantl, one of the six Median tribes, **i.** 101

Armenia, source of the Halys, **i.** 72; of the Euphrates, **i.** 180, 199; adjacent to Cilicia, **v.** 49, 52; part of the Persian empire, **iii.** 93; Armenians in Xerxes' army, **vii.** 73

Arpozais, one of the sons of Targitaius the legendary founder of the Scythian people, **iv.** 5

Anarmenes, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Darius, **vii.** 68

Anamer, (1) a Persian, father of Hystaspes, first mentioned, **i.** 200. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Darius, **vii.** 60

Artabazos, Xerxes' uncle, son of Hystaspes, dissuades Darius from the Scythian expedition, **iv.** 83; a conversation with Darius, **iv.** 143; advice to Xerxes against his expedition to Greece, **vii.** 10-12; his vision and change of mind, **vii.** 15-18; his dialogue with Xerxes at Abydos, **vii.** 40-52. Elsewhere as a patronymic.

Artabates, a Persian, **vii.** 65

Artabazos, a Persian general in Xerxes' army, **vii.** 66; his siege of towns in Chalcidice, **viii.** 126-129; disagreement with Mardonius before Plataea, **ix.** 41, 58; flight with his army from Plataea, **ix.** 66; return to Asia, **ix.** 89

## INDEX

Artace, a town near Cyzicus, iv. 14, vi. 33  
Artachaeus, the Persian engineer of Xerxes' canal through Athos, vii. 22; his death, vii. 117. Elsewhere a patronymic.  
Artæi, an old name for the Persians, vii. 61  
Artæus, two Persians of the name, vii. 22 and vii. 66  
Artænes, (1) a brother of Darius, vii. 224. (2) A Thracian tributary of the Danube, iv. 40  
Artaphrenes, (1) Darius' brother, the Persian governor of Sardis, v. 25; his alliance with Aristagoras, and its rupture, v. 30-33; negotiation with Athenians, v. 73, 96; at Sardis when taken by Athenians and Ionians, v. 100; his operations in Ionia, v. 123; charge against Histines, vi. 1; punishment of conspirators at Sardis, vi. 4; execution of Histines, vi. 30; taxation of Ionia, vi. 42. (2) Son of the above, colleague of Datis in the invasion of Attica, vi. 94, 119, vii. 8, 10, 74  
Artayetes, a Persian general under Xerxes, and governor of Sestus, captured and crucified by the Greeks for his violation of a temple, vii. 33, 78, ix. 116-120  
Artaynte, daughter of Xerxes' brother Masiates, Xerxes' intrigue with her, ix. 108-112  
Artayntes, (1) a Persian general in Xerxes' army, son of Artachaeus, vii. 130; his escape after Mycale, ix. 102, 107. (2) A Persian general in Xerxes' army, son of Ithamites, vii. 67  
Artemabares, (1) a Mede, his complaint to Astyages of Cyrus' treatment of Artemabares' son, i. 114-116. (2) A Persian, ancestor of Artayetes, his proposal to Cyrus, ix. 122  
Artemia, her worship in the Greek world, i. 26, iii. 48, iv. 35, 87, vi. 133, vii. 170, viii. 77; in Thrace and Scythia, iv. 33, v. 7; in Egypt (as Bubastis), ii. 58, 83, 137, 155, 156  
Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, with Xerxes' fleet, vii. 99; her advice to Xerxes before Salamis, viii. 88; conduct in the battle, viii. 87; advice to Xerxes after Salamis, viii. 101-103  
Artemision, in northern Eubœa, described, vii. 176; station of the Greek fleet, vii. 182, 192, 194, viii. 4-6; battles with Xerxes' fleet, viii. 8-23; abandoned by the Greeks, viii. 40  
Artocessus, a river in Thrace, crossed by Darius on his way to Scythia, iv. 92  
Artobazanes, eldest son of Darius, his candidature for the throne of Persia, vii. 2  
Artocimes, a Persian officer under Xerxes, vii. 73  
Artontes, (1) a Persian, iii. 128. (2) A Persian, son of Mardonius, ix. 84

## INDEX

Artaxerxes, king of Persia, son of Xerxes, VII. 103; his friendly relations with Argae, VII. 161  
Artozostro, daughter of Darius and wife of Mardonius, VI. 43  
Artybius, a Persian general in Cyprus, V. 108-112  
Artyphilius, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Artabonus, VII. 66  
Artystone, Cyrus' daughter, wife of Darius, III. 88  
Aryandes, Persian satrap of Egypt under Darius, his silver coinage, IV. 160; his forces sent to reinstate Pheretime in Barca, IV. 167, 200  
Aryenis, daughter of Alyattes king of Lydia, married to Astyages the Mede, I. 74  
Ashystae, a tribe of Libya, IV. 170  
Ascalon, a town in Syria, I. 105  
Asia: beginning of troubles between Asia and Greece, I. 4; Greeks' conquest of Asiatic Greeks, I. 6; division of Upper and Lower Asia by the Halys, I. 72; Assyrian rule of Upper Asia, I. 93; Asia ruled by Medes, I. 102; by Scythians, I. 103-106, IV. 4, VII. 20; by Persians, I. 130; Ionians of Asia, I. 142; Median conquest of Lower, Persian of Upper Asia, I. 177; wealth of Assyria a third of entire wealth of Asia, I. 192; division of Asia and Libya, II. 16, 17; Darius' Asiatic empire, III. 88-94; extremities of Asia (e.g. Arabin), III. 115; prosperity of Asia under Darius, IV. 1; mistakes of those who think Europe no bigger than Asia, IV. 36; geography of the world, IV. 37-42; name of Asia, IV. 45; Asia and Libya compared, IV. 198; Aristagoras' map of Asia, V. 49; the "royal road" in Asia, V. 62; Asia "shaken for three years" by Darius' preparations against Greece, VII. 1; every nation of Asia in Xerxes' armament, VII. 21, 157; numbers of Asiatic contingents, VII. 184; Persian belief that all Asia is theirs, IX. 116 (many other unimportant refs.)  
Asia, wife of Prometheus, IV. 46  
Asias, (1) son of Cotys, a legendary Lydian, IV. 45. (2) A clan at Sardis, IV. 46  
Asine, a town in Laconia, VIII. 73  
Assanach, name of a people in Ethiopia, II. 30  
Asopides, captain of an Aeginetan ship captured by Xerxes' fleet near Scinthus, VII. 161  
Asopii, inhabitants of the Asopus valley, IX. 16  
Asopodorus, a Thessalian cavalry leader under Mardonius at Platæa, IX. 69

## INDEX

Asopos, (1) a river in Trachis near Thermopylae, vii. 105, 216, 217. (2) A river in Boeotia, made the boundary between Theban and Platæan territory, vi. 108; frequently referred to in connection with the Platæan campaign of Mardonius, who encamped on its bank, ix. 15-59.

Axpathines, one of the seven conspirators against the Magians, iii. 70, 78.

Axa, a town in the Singitic gulf west of Athens, vii. 122.

Axessus, a town with a local cult of Athene, in the lands of Miletus, i. 19, 22.

Assyria: Assyrian rule of Upper Asia, i. 95; resistance to Medes, i. 102; Median conquest of all Assyria but Babylonia, i. 106; Cyrus' invasion, i. 178, 188; Herodotus' proposed Assyrian history, i. 183; some account of Assyria, i. 192-194; Sennacherib's invasion of Egypt with Arabians and Assyrians, ii. 141; Assyrian script, iv. 87; Perseus an Assyrian, vi. 64; Assyrians in Xerxes' army, vii. 63.

Astacus, a legendary Theban, v. 67.

Aster, a Spartan, v. 63.

Astrabacus, a Spartan hero or demigod, vi. 69.

Astyages, a Median king, son of Cyaxares and son-in-law of Croesus, i. 73-75; his treatment of Cyrus as a child and as a youth, and his dealings with Harpagus, i. 107-125; deposed by Cyrus, i. 127-130.

Arychis, king of Egypt, builder of a brick pyramid, ii. 136.

Atamantes, a people in Libya, iv. 184.

Atarbechis, a town in Egypt with a temple of "Aphrodite," ii. 41.

Atarneus, a district of Mycale, i. 160, vi. 28, 29, viii. 196; on Xerxes' line of march, vii. 42.

Athamas, a legendary Greek hero, vii. 68; ritual of human sacrifice connected with his family, vii. 197.

Athenaïea, of Trachis, vii. 213.

Athenagoras, of Samos, ix. 90.

Athena (and Pallas), Libyan tradition of, iv. 180; cult at Athens, i. 60, v. 77, 82, vii. 141, viii. 37, 39, 55; elsewhere, i. 19, 22, 62, 66, 92, 160, 175, ii. 28, 59, 83, 169, 175, 182, iii. 59, iv. 180, 188, v. 45, 95, vii. 43, viii. 94, 104, ix. 70.

Athens and Athenians, passim in Bks. v.-ix.; Solon's legislation at Athens, i. 29; Athenians the leading Ionian people, i. 50, 146; Pisistratus' usurpation of power, i. 69-84; Ionian appeal to Athens, v. 55, 97; murder of Hipparchus, v. 56; expulsion of Hipparchus with help from Sparta, v. 62 foll.; legis-

## INDEX

lation of Cleisthenes, v. 66 foll.; his expulsion attempted by Cleonnes of Sparta, v. 72, 73; Dorian invasion of Attica, v. 74-76; wars of Athens against Boeotia and Aegina, v. 77-89; decision of Peloponnesian congress not to restore Hippies, v. 93; Athens an open enemy of Persia, v. 96; Athenians support Ionian revolt, v. 97; Miltiades (the elder) at Athens, vi. 35; hostages for Aeginetan good faith sent to Athens, vi. 73; Athenian refusal to restore them (story of Glaucon), vi. 85 foll.; war between Athens and Aegina, vi. 87-93; Persian invasion of Attica and battle of Marathon, vi. 102-117; alleged treachery of the Alcmenidae disproved, vi. 121-124; reception of Darius' envoys at Athens, vii. 133; Athens the saviour of Greece, viii. 139; oracles given to Athenians at Delphi, viii. 140-142; additions to Athenian fleet on Themistocles' advice, viii. 143, 144; Athenian envoy at Syracuse, viii. 161; Athenian ships at Artemisium, viii. 1, 10, 14, 17, 18; Athenian migration to Salamis, viii. 40, 41; origin of the name "Athenian," viii. 44; siege and capture of Athens, viii. 52, 53, 54; Athenians before the battle of Salamis, viii. 57 foll.; in the battle itself, viii. 83-96; their pursuit of Xerxes' fleet, 108 foll.; Athenian refusal to make terms with Persia, viii. 140-144; occupation of Athens by Mardonius, ix. 3; renewed refusal to make terms, ix. 4, 5; Athenian demands at Sparta for help, ix. 7-11; Mardonius' departure from Attica, ix. 13; Athenian exploits in the campaign of Plataea, ix. 21, 22; their claim of the place of honour in the army, ix. 26-28; movements of Athenians before the battle of Plataea, ix. 44-47, 54, 55, 56; their part in the battle, ix. 60, 61, 70, 73; Athenians in the battle of Mycale, ix. 102; their policy for Ionia, ix. 106; siege and capture of Sestus by Athenians, ix. 114-118.  
(See also Pisistratus, Cleisthenes, Miltiades, Themistocles)

Athos, promontory in Chalcidice, Persian shipwreck there, vi. 44, 65, vii. 180; Xerxes' canal across it, vii. 22, 37, 122

Atribibite, province in Egypt, ii. 166

Atrrya, a river in Thrace, iv. 40

Atlantes, a people in Libya, iv. 184

Atlantic sea, "outside the Pillars of Hercules," united with the Greek sea and the Persian gulf, i. 203

Atlas, (1) the mountain in Libya, iv. 184. (2) A river flowing from the Balkan range into the Danube, iv. 49

Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, wife first of Cambyses, then of the

## INDEX

Magian, then of Darius, iii. 68, 85; her desire that Darius should invade Greece, iii. 133-134; her influence with Darius, vii. 2

Atramyttium, a town on Xerxes' route through W. Asia Minor, vii. 42

Atridæ, Agamemnon and Menelaus, vii. 26

Attaginus, a leading Theban friendly to Mardonius, ix. 15; Greek demand for his surrender, ix. 86; his escape, ix. 88

Attica: Attic language, vi. 138; Attic weights and measures, i. 102; Attic dance movements, vi. 120. (See Athens.)

Atys, (1) son of Croesus, accidentally killed by Adrastus, i. 34-46; father of Pythius, vii. 27. (2) Earliest mentioned king of Lydia, son of Manes, i. 7, vii. 74; a dearth in his reign, i. 94

Anchatae, one of the earliest Scythian tribes, iv. 6

Augila, a date-growing place in Libya, on the caravan route from Egypt to the west, iv. 172, 182-184

Aurus, a river flowing from the Balkan range into the Danube, iv. 40

Ausebinæ, a Libyan people on the sea coast, near Barca, iv. 171

Ausæ, a Libyan people on the sea coast, iv. 180, 191

Antesion, a Theban, descended from Polynices, iv. 147, vi. 52

Autodæus, a Platæan, ix. 85

Antonous, a hero worshipped at Delphi, his alleged aid against the Persians, viii. 39

Auxesia, a goddess of fertility worshipped in Aegina and Epidaurus, v. 62-63

Axias (Vardar), a river in Macedonia, vii. 123

Azanes, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 60

Aziris, a place in Libya, a Greek settlement there, iv. 167, 169

Azotus, a town in Syria, ii. 167

Babylon, the capital of Assyria; alliance with Croesus, i. 77; description of the city, i. 178-183; Nitocris and navigation of the Euphrates, i. 184-186; her tomb, i. 187; Cyrus' siege and capture of Babylon, i. 188-191; details of Babylonian life, i. 93, 192-200, ii. 109, iii. 89, 95, iv. 108; tribute paid to Persia, iii. 92; siege and capture by Darius, iii. 150-160

Bacchidae, a powerful clan at Corinth, v. 92

Bacchic mysteries, ii. 81

Bacis, reputed author or compiler of oracles, viii. 26, 77, 96, ix. 43

## INDEX

Bactria, in the eastern part of the Persian empire, still to be subdued by Cyrus, i. 153; tribute paid to Persia, iii. 92; conquered peoples exiled thither, iv. 294, vi. 9; Bactrians in Xerxes' army, vii. 64, 88, 90; with Mardonius, viii. 113; Manistes' plan for a Bactrian revolt, ix. 113

Bardes, (1) a Persian commander in the expedition against Cyrene, iv. 107, 203. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Hystanes, vii. 77

Bagaecus, a Persian, employed by Darius against Oroetes, iii. 128; father of Mardonius, vii. 80, viii. 130

Barea, a town of northern Libya, a colony from Cyrene, iv. 160; its tribute to Persia, iii. 91; submission to Cambyses, iii. 13; troubles with Cyrene, iv. 104, 167; captured and enslaved by Persians, 200-205

Bassileides, an Ionian, father of Herodotus the historian's namesake, viii. 132

Bazaces, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Artabazus, vii. 75

Battiadae, descendants of Battus, iv. 202

Battus; three of this name, all kings of Cyrene (see Arkesilas). (1) A man of Thera, son of Polymnestus, and first colonist of Cyrene, iv. 150-159. (2) Grandson of the above, called "the Fortunate"; his defeat of an Egyptian army, iv. 159. (3) Grandson of the last; curtailment of his royal power at Cyrene, iv. 161. ("Battus" said to be a Libyan word meaning "king," iv. 155.)

Belbinite, an inhabitant of the islet of Belbin off Attica, used by Themistocles as an instance of an insignificant place, viii. 125

Bellian gates of Babylon, opened to admit Darius' besieging army, iii. 155, 158

Belus, a legendary descendant of Hercules, i. 7, and perhaps, vii. 81, apparently = the Asiatic god Bel, who has affinities with Hercules; the Babylonian form of "Bel" (Baal); identified with Zeus, i. 131 (the temple of Zeus Belus).

Bermius, a mountain range in Macedonia, viii. 138

Bessi, a priestly clan among the Sattiæ of Thrace, vii. 111

Bias, (1) brother of the seer Melampus, ix. 34. (2) Bias of Priene, one of the "Seven Sages," his advice to Croesus, i. 27; to the Ionians, i. 170

Bianitae, a Thracian tribe, viii. 116; their country Bianitia, vii. 115

## INDEX

Bisaltes, a man of Abydos, vi. 20  
Bisanthe, a town on the Hellespont, vii. 137  
Bistones, a Thracian tribe, vii. 109, 110  
Bithynians, in Xerxes' army, originally Thracians, vii. 76; ep. i. 28  
Biton, of Argos, brother of Cleobis, story of their filial devotion, i. 31  
Boebean lake, in Thessaly, vii. 129  
Boeotia: Phoenician immigration, ii. 49, v. 57; war with Athens, v. 74-81; alliance with Aegina, v. 80; "sacred road" through Boeotia, vi. 34; strife of Athens and Boeotia, vi. 108; submission to Xerxes, vii. 132; Boeotians at Thermopylae, vii. 202, 233; nearly all Boeotia on Persian side, viii. 34, 66; Mardonius established in Boeotia, ix. 16, 17, 19; Boeotians in his army, ix. 31, 46; their courage, ix. 87  
Boges, Persian governor of Eion, his desperate defence of the place, vii. 107  
Bolbitine mouth of the Nile artificial, ii. 17  
Boreas, the personified north wind, invoked by the Athenians before the Persian shipwreck, vii. 189  
Borysthenes, (1) a Scythian river, the Dnieper, iv. 5, 18, 24, 47, 53-55, 81, 101. (2) A Greek port at the river's mouth, iv. 17, 53, 74, 78; said to be a colony from Miletus, iv. 78  
Bosporus, (1) Thracian, bridged by Darius, iv. 83-89, 118, vii. 10. (2) Cimmerian (entrance to the Palus Maeotis), iv. 12, 28, 100  
Bottiaea, a district on the Thracian sea-board, vii. 185, viii. 127  
Branchidae, an ornacular shrine near Miletus, i. 46, ii. 159; Croesus' offerings there, i. 92, v. 30; answer of the oracle about the surrender of a suppliant, i. 157-159  
Brauron, in Attica, Athenian women carried off thence by Pelasgians, iv. 145, vi. 138  
Brentesium (mod. Brindisi), iv. 99  
Briantio country, on the Thracian sea-board, vii. 106  
Briges, old name of the Phrygians, vii. 73  
Brongus, a tributary of the Danube, iv. 49  
Brygi, Thracian tribesmen, their attack on Mardonius' first expedition, vi. 45; part of Xerxes' army, vii. 185  
Bubares, a Persian, son of Megabazus, married to the sister of Alexander of Macedonia, v. 21, viii. 136; one of the engineers of the Athos canal, vii. 22

## INDEX

Bubastis, (1) an Egyptian goddess identified with Artemis, II. 59, 83, 137, 156; (2) An Egyptian town, II. 59, 67, 137, 154, 158, 166. (Bubastite province, II. 166)

Bucolic mouth of the Nile artificial, II. 17

Budii, a Median tribe, I. 101

Budini, a people adjacent to Scythia, IV. 21, 102, 106, 119, 122, 136; their town of wood, and their Greek customs, IV. 108

Balis, a Spartan, his offer to expiate the Spartan killing of Persian envoys by surrendering himself to Xerxes, VII. 134–137

Burn, a town in Argolis, I. 145

Bunae, a Median tribe, I. 101

Busiris, a town in the Delta with a temple of Isis, II. 59, 61; Busitite province, II. 166

Butacides, a man of Croton, V. 47

Buto, a town in the Delta, with a cult of Apollo and Artemis, and an oracular shrine of Leto (Uat), II. 59, 63, 67, 75, 83, 111, 133, 152, III. 64; description of the temple, II. 165

Rybassis, a peninsula in Caria, I. 174

Byzantium, IV. 87, VI. 39; beauty of its site, IV. 144; taken by Otanes, V. 26; annexed by Ionian rebels, V. 103; occupied by Histiaeans, VI. 5, 26; Artabazus there in return to Asia, IX. 89

Cabales, a small tribe in northern Libya, near Barca, IV. 171

Cabalees, a people on the Lybian border, their tribute to Persia, III. 90; in Xerxes' army, VII. 77

Cabiri, minor deities worshipped in many places, in Samothrace and Memphis, II. 51, III. 37

Cadmeans, alleged Phoenician immigrants into Greece with Cadmus, I. 66, 146, V. 57; a Cadmean script, V. 59; once settled at Thebes, IX. 27; a "Cadmean victory" one where victors are no better off than vanquished, I. 166

Cadmus, (1) a Tyrian, son of Agenor, in Boeotia, II. 42; chronology, II. 145 (cp. Cadmeans). (2) A Conn. 200 of Scythia; an emissary from Gelon of Sicily, VII. 163

Cadytie, a town in Syria (Gaza), III. 6; taken by Neos, II. 159

Calous, a river between Lydia and Myela, VI. 28, VII. 42

Caeneus, a Corinthian, father of Eetion, V. 92

Calamissa (or Calama), in Samos, IX. 96

Calasities, one of the Egyptian warrior tribes, II. 164; some account of them, II. 166, 168; in Mardonius' army at Plataea, IX. 32

## INDEX

Callantiae, an Indian people, III. 97; perhaps the same as the Callatiae, q.v.

Callatebus, a town in Lydia on Xerxes' line of march, VII. 31

Callatise, Indian cannibals, III. 38

Calchas, the legendary seer, VII. 51

Calchedon (or Chalcedon), on the Hellespont, IV. 85; its site compared with that of Byzantium, IV. 144; taken by Ottaces, V. 26; burnt by Phoenicians, VI. 33

Calliades, archon at Athens in 480 B.C., VIII. 61

Callias, (1) an Elean seer, acting with Croton in its war with Sybaris, V. 44. (2) An Athenian, son of Hippomicus; an envoy to Xerxes' son Artaxerxes in 448 B.C., VII. 151. (3) Grandfather of the above, a noted Athenian champion of freedom and enemy of Pisistratus, VI. 121

Callimatas, a Spartan killed (but not in actual fighting) at Plataea, IX. 72

Callimachus of Aphidnae, the Athenian polemarch, with the army at Marathon, his vote for battle, VI. 100, 110; his death, VI. 114

Calliphon, a man of Croton, III. 125

Callipidae, "Greek Scythians" near the town of Boryathenes, IV. 17

Callipolitae, settlers in Sicily from the adjacent town of Naxos, VII. 154

Calliste, old name of the island of Thera, IV. 147

Calydians, islanders in Xerxes' fleet, VII. 99

Calynda, on the frontier of Lydia, I. 172; Calyndians in Xerxes' fleet, VIII. 87

Camarina, in Sicily, VII. 154; its citizens transferred to Syracuse by Gelon, VII. 156

Cambyses, (1) a Persian, son of Tethys, son-in-law of Astyages and father of Cyrus, I. 107; elsewhere mostly a patronymic of Cyrus. (2) King of Persia, son of Cyrus, his accession, I. 208, II. 1; conquest of Egypt, I. 1-4, 9-16; expeditions to Ethiopia and Libya, 10-26; his sacrilegious and criminal acts while in Egypt, especially the murder of his brother, III. 27-38; Magian usurpation of the Persian throne, and Cambyses' death, III. 61-66; Greeks in Egypt during Cambyses' occupation, III. 130; Cambyses' punishment of an unjust judge, V. 25 (other unimportant refl.)

Canicos, a town in Sicily, scene of Minos' death, VII. 169

Canirus, a Dorian town in Rhodes, I. 144

## INDEX

Campsia, a town adjacent to the Thermalic gulf, vii. 123  
 Conastrean promontory at the extremity of Pallene, vii. 123  
 Candaules, (1) called *Mymilus* by the Greeks, despot of Sardis, i. 7; murdered by his wife and Gyges, i. 10-13. (2) A Carian, vii. 98  
 Canobus, a town in Egypt, giving its name to the adjacent mouth of the Nile, ii. 15, 17, 97, 113, 179  
 Caphereus, a promontory in Euboea, viii. 7  
 Cappadocia, its situation, i. 72, v. 49, 52; attacked and conquered by Cyrus, i. 71, 73, 76; on Xerxes' line of march, vii. 20; Cappadocians in his army, vii. 72  
 Carchedon (Carthage); Carchedonian and Italian attack on Phoenicians in Corica, i. 160; Cambyses' proposed conquest of Carchedon, iii. 17-19; Carchedonian story of the island Cyraunia, iv. 195; expulsion of a Greek colony in Libya by Carchedonians, v. 42; successes of Gelon against them in Sicily, vii. 158, 165-167  
 Carrinithia, at the mouth of the Hypacyris, on the eastern frontier of "old" Scythia, iv. 55, 99  
 Cardamyle, a town in Laconia, viii. 73  
 Cardia, a town in the Thracian Chersonese (peninsula of Gallipoli), vi. 33, 36, ix. 118; on Xerxes' line of march, vii. 58  
 Carene, a town in Mysia, on Xerxes' route, vii. 42  
 Carenus, a Spartan, vii. 173  
 Carians, islanders originally, the chief people in the Minoan empire, i. 171; their inventions of armour, *ib.*; attacked by the Persians, *ib.*; subdued, i. 174; Carian settlers in Egypt, ii. 61, 152, 154; Artaxerxes' Carian guard, ii. 163, iii. 11; Carian tribute to Persia, iii. 90; a Carian warrior in the Cyprian revolt, v. 111; Carian revolt against Darius, v. 117-121; subdued, vi. 25; Carians in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 93, 97, viii. 22; Carian language not understood by Greeks, viii. 135; so-called "Iouina" dress really Carian, v. 88  
 Carnaea, a Lacedaemonian festival in honour of Apollo, held in early August, vii. 206, viii. 72  
 Carpathus, an island S.W. of the Peloponnese, iii. 45  
 Carpia, a western tributary of the Danube, iv. 49  
 Carystus, on the south coast of Euboea, iv. 33; subdued by Persians, vi. 99; in Xerxes' army, viii. 66; attacked by Greeks, viii. 112, 121; war between Athens and Caryatus, ix. 105  
 Casabrus, one of the Aeginetan hostages handed over to Athens by Cleomenes, vi. 73

## INDEX

Casian mountain, low sandhills on the eastern frontier of Egypt, II. 6, III. 6  
Cassenea, a town in Sicily, VII. 155  
Caspatyrus, a town probably on the Indus, III. 102, IV. 44  
Caspian Sea, its size, I. 208; northern boundary of the Persian empire, IV. 40; Caspian tribute paid to Persia, III. 92; Caspi in Xerxes' army, VII. 67, 86  
Cambonae, mother of Cambyses, II. 1, III. 2  
Cassiterides (tin-producing) islands, perhaps Britain, their existence questioned by Herodotus, III. 115  
Castalian spring at Delphi, VIII. 39  
Casthanaea, a town in Magnesia, VII. 183, 188  
Catadupa, the first or Aswan cataract of the Nile, source of the river, according to Herodotus, II. 17  
Catarrhaetes, a tributary of the Maeander, rising at Celoneae, VII. 26  
Catili, one of the oldest Scythian tribes, IV. 6  
Caucasa, on the S.E. coast of Chios, V. 33  
Caucasus range, I. 104, 203, III. 97, IV. 12  
Caucenes, an Arcadian people, one of the most ancient of Greek races, I. 147, IV. 148  
Caunus, near Caria and Lycia, origin of its people, I. 172; attacked and subdued by the Medes, I. 171, 178; participation in Ionian revolt against Darina, V. 103  
Caystris, a river near Sardis, V. 100  
Caystrobium, a Proconnesian, father of Aristeas, IV. 13  
Ceans, natives of Ceos in the Aegean, IV. 35; in the Greek fleet, VIII. I, 46  
Cecrops, king of Athens, VII. 141, VIII. 53; Athenians called Cecropidae, VIII. 44  
Celoneae, a town in Phrygia at the junction of the Marsyns and Maeander, on Xerxes' route, VII. 26  
Celaus, a Spartan companion of Dotiens' voyage to Italy, V. 46  
Celti, the farthest west (but one) of all European nations, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, II. 33; source of the Danube in their country, IV. 49  
Ceos, apparently a place in Salamis (but not identified), VIII. 76; clearly not the island in the Aegean.  
Cephallenia, an island west of Greece, its contingent at Platone, IX. 28  
Cephenes, an old name for the Persians, VII. 61

## INDEX

Cepheus, son of Belus (*g.v.*) and father of Andromeda, wife of  
Persous, *vii.* 61, 150

Cephissus, a river in Phocia, *vii.* 178, *viii.* 33

Ceramique, a gulf in Caria, *i.* 174

Cercasorum, a town in Egypt, where the Nile first divides to  
form the Delta, *ii.* 15, 17, 97

Cercopes, legendary dwarfs whose name is preserved by the  
"seats of the Cercopes," rocks on the mountain side near  
Thermopylae, *vn.* 216

Cereyra (Coreyra), subject to Corinth under Periander, *ii.* 48,  
52, 53; hesitating policy of Coreyra when invited to join the  
Greeks against Xerxes, *vii.* 168

Chaldaeans, a priestly caste at Babylon, *i.* 181, 182

Chalcis, in Euboea, at war with Athens, *v.* 74, 77, 91; station  
of the Greek fleet, *vii.* 182, 189; Chalcidians in the fleet,  
*viii.* 1, 46; at Plataea, *ix.* 28, 31

Chalcidians of Thrace, in Xerxes' army, *vii.* 185; their capture  
of Olynthus, *viii.* 127

Chalestia, a town on Xerxes' route in Macedonia, *vii.* 123

Chalybes, a people of Asia Minor conquered by Croesus, *i.* 28  
(if the mention is genuine).

Charadra, a town in Phocia, *viii.* 33

Charaxus, a Mytilenaean, brother of Sappho, *ii.* 135

Charilaus, (1) brother of Polyclates' viceroy of Samos, Maeon-  
drus, his attack on the Persians in Samos, *iii.* 145, 146. (2) A  
king of Sparta, *viii.* 131

Charites, the Graces, worshipped in Greece but not in Egypt,  
*ii.* 60; a hill in Libya called "the Graces' hill," *iv.* 175

Chacopinus, brother of Aristagoras of Miletus, *v.* 99

Chemunia, (1) a town of Upper Egypt, with a temple of Perseus,  
*ii.* 91. (2) An island alleged to float, in the Delta, *ii.* 159.  
Province of Chemmis, *ii.* 165, inhabited by one of the warrior  
clans.

Cheops, king of Egypt, the first pyramid-builder (at the modern  
Gizeh), *ii.* 124-127

Cleopren, Cheops' successor, also a pyramid-builder, *ii.* 127

Chernamis, a Persian, father of Artayctes, *vii.* 78

Chersis, a king of Cyprus, father of Onesilus, *v.* 104, 113

Chersonese (= peninsula), used (1) (ostensibly) of the modern  
peninsula of Gallipoli; ruled by Miltiades the elder, *iv.* 137;  
overrun by Persians, *vi.* 33; under Miltiades, the elder and the  
younger, *vi.* 33-40, 103, 104; part of the Athenian empire,

## INDEX

vi. 140; Xerxes' bridge there, vii. 33; his route through the Chersonese, vii. 58; Greek forces there after Mycale, ix. 114-120. (2) The Tauric Chersonese (the Crimea), iv. 89

Chileus, a Tegean, his warning to the Spartans, ix. 9

Chilon, (1) a Spartan, temp. Pisistratus, i. 59; his saying about Cythera, vii. 235. (2) A Spartan, son of Demaratus and father-in-law of Demaratus, vi. 65

Chios, its alliance with Miletus, i. 18; Ionian, i. 142, ii. 178; its surrender of a suppliant, i. 160; a Chian altar at Delphi, ii. 135; Paeonian refugees in Chios, v. 98; Chians and Histineus, vi. 2, 5; their valour in the Ionian revolt, vi. 15, 16; conquered by the Persians, vi. 31; plot against the despot of Chios, viii. 132; Chians admitted to the Greek confederacy after Mycale, ix. 106 (a few other unimportant ref.)

Chomopea, a river flowing past Susa, i. 188, v. 49, 52

Choreiae, a place on the coast of Euboea near Eretria, vi. 101

Choretae, the name given by Cleisthenes to a Sicyonian tribe, v. 68

Choerus, a man of Rhgium, vii. 170

Chon (if the reading is admitted), a river in N.W. Greece, ix. 93

Chorasmii, a tribe N.E. of the Parthians, on the Oxus, iii. 93, 117; in Xerxes' army, vii. 66

Chronius, an Argive, one of three survivors of a battle between Argos and Lacedaemon, i. 82

Cicones, a Thracian tribe, on Xerxes' route, vii. 59, 108, 110

Cilicia, traversed by the Halys, i. 72; opposite Egypt, ii. 34; tribute to Persia, iii. 99; on the "royal road," v. 52; Persian crossing from Cilicia to Cyprus, v. 108; sailing thence of Datis' expedition, vi. 96; Cilicians in Xerxes' army, vii. 77, 91, 98, viii. 14; disparaged by Artemisia, viii. 68; by Marathonis, viii. 100; governed by Xenagoras, ix. 107

Cillus, son of Agenor, eponymous hero of Cilicia, vii. 91

Cilla, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 140

Cimmerians, their invasion of Ionia, i. 8, 15; originally in Scythia, driven thence by the Scythians into Asia, iv. 11-13, vii. 20; their memory preserved by place-names, iv. 12

Cimon, (1) son of Stesagoras and father of Miltiades the younger, vi. 24, 38; a victor at Olympia, vi. 103; killed by the Pisistratids, ib. (2) Son of Miltiades, vi. 136; his capture of Eion, vii. 107

Cindya, a town in Caria, v. 118

## INDEX

Cinesas, a Thessalian prince, ally of the Pisistratids against Sparta, v. 63.

Cinyps, a river in Libya, iv. 175; attempt to make a Greek settlement there, v. 42; fertility of the Cinyps valley, iv. 198.

Cissians, at the head of the Persian Gulf, tributaries of Persia, iii. 91; Cissian gates of Babylon, iii. 155, 158; the country on Aristagoras' map of Asia, v. 49; on the "royal road," v. 62; Cissian fighters at Thermopylae, vii. 210.

Cithaeron, the mountain range between Attica and Boeotia, vii. 141; northern foothills of Cithaeron and passes over the range held by the Greeks against Mardonius, ix. 10, 25, 38, 51, 56, 69.

Cissus, (1) a town in Mysia, v. 122. (2) (Or Scius?), a tributary of the Ister, iv. 40.

Clazomenae, in Lydia, an Ionian town, i. 142, ii. 178; its resistance to Alyattes, i. 10; Clazomenian treasury at Delphi, i. 51; taking of the town by Persians, v. 123.

Cleades, a Platæan, ix. 85.

Cleandrus, (1) despot of Gela in Sicily, vii. 154. (2) An Arcadian seer and fomenter of civil strife in Argolis, vi. 83.

Cleinius, an Athenian, son of Alcibiades, his distinction at Artemision, viii. 17.

Cleisthenes, (1) despot of Sicyon, son of Aristonymus, his reforms at Sicyon, v. 67, 69; competition for his daughter's hand, vi. 126-31. (2) An Athenian, grandson of the above, vi. 131; his reforms at Athens, v. 66, 69; his expulsion from Athens and return, v. 72, 73.

Cleobis, an Argive, story of his filial devotion, i. 31.

Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, an ancestor of the Spartan kings, vi. 62, vii. 204, viii. 131.

Cleombrotus, youngest son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, v. 32, vii. 205; in command of a Peloponnesian force at the Isthmus, viii. 71, ix. 10; father of Patroclus, ix. 78 et al.

Cleotomenes, king of Sparta, son of Anaxandrides; his refusal to accept a bribe, iii. 148 (from Maeandrus of Samos), v. 48-51 (from Aristagoras); his madness, v. 42, vi. 75; invasions of Attica, v. 64, 70; oracles carried off by him from Athens, v. 90; quarrel with Aegina, vi. 80; feud with Demaratus, vi. 61-66; invasion of Argos, vi. 76-82, vii. 148; advice to the Platæans, vi. 105; his death, vi. 75.

Cleonae, a town on Athos, vii. 22.

Clytiadae, an Eleian priestly clan, ii. 33 (but see note *ad loc.*).

## INDEX

Cnidus, in Caria, on the Triopian promontory, i. 174; a Dorian town, i. 144, ii. 178; attempted restoration by Cnidians of a Tarentine exile, iii. 138

Cnoethus, an Aeginetan, vi. 88

Cnosus, in Crete, the capital city of Minos' empire, iii. 122

Cobon, a Delphian, his corruption of the oracle in Cleomenes' interest, vi. 66

Codrus, an ancient king of Athens, ancestor of the Cadences (*q.v.*), i. 147; of Pisistratus, v. 65; Dorian invasion of Attica during his rule, v. 76; father of the founder of Miletus, ix. 97

Coestyn, a place in Thaeos, vi. 47

Coss, of Mytilene, his advice to Darius to leave Ionians guarding the bridge of the Ister, iv. 97; made despot of Mytilene, v. 11; his death, v. 38

Colaeus, a Samian shipmaster, iv. 152

Colaxaia, the youngest of the three brothers who founded the Scythian race, iv. 5, 7

Colchis, on the Euxine, its situation, i. 104, iv. 37, 40; Egyptian origin of Colchians, ii. 104; tribute to Persia, iii. 97; in Xerxes' army, vii. 79

Coliss, adjective of an Attic promontory where wrecks were driven ashore after Salamis, viii. 96

Colophon, an Ionian town in Lydia, i. 142; taken by Gyges, i. 14; Apaturia not celebrated at Colophon, i. 147; civil strife there, i. 150

Colossae, a town in Phrygia, on Xerxes' route, vii. 30

Combrea, a town in Chalcidice, vii. 123

Compsantus, a river in Thrace, vii. 109

Conlaean, of Conium in Phrygia, v. 63 (but "Gonnaean" should probably be read).

Contadesmus, a river in Thessal., iv. 99

Copais lake in Boeotia, viii. 135

Coreus, near Ephesus, on the coast, v. 100

Corinth, Its treasury at Delphi, i. 14, iv. 162; despotism of Periander and his cruelty, i. 23, v. 92; his troubles with his son, and with Coreya, iii. 49–54; Corinthian estimation of artificers, ii. 167; story of Cypselus, v. 92; Corinthian reluctance to invade Attica, v. 75; friendship with Athens, vi. 89; adjustment by Corinth of a quarrel between Athens and Thebes, vi. 108; Corinthians at Thermopylae, vii. 202; in the Greek fleet, viii. 1, 21, 43; in the army at the Isthmus, viii. 72; dispute between Themistocles and Ardemantus,

## INDEX

VIII. 61; Corinthians' alleged desertion of the Greeks at Salamis, VIII. 84; Corinthians at Plataea, IX. 28, 31, 69; at Mycale, IX. 102, 105  
Corobius, a Cretan merchant, employed by Greeks to guide them to Libya, IV. 151-153  
Coronea, a town in Boeotia, V. 79  
Corycian cave on Parnassus, a refuge for the Delphians, VIII. 36  
Corydallus, a man of Antioch, VII. 214  
Corys, a river in Arabia, III. 9  
Cos, an island off Caria, colonized by Dorians, I. 144; abdication of its despot Cadmus, VII. 164; Coans in Xerxes' fleet, VII. 29  
Cotys, a legendary Lydian, IV. 45  
Crasus, old name for Athenians, VIII. 44  
Cranaes, a Persian, III. 128  
Crannon, in Thessaly, VI. 128  
Crathis, (1) a river in Achaea, I. 145. (2) A river by Sybaris, V. 45  
Cremni (cliffs), name of a port in Scythia, on the " Maeotian lake," IV. 20, 110  
Crestonian country, in Thrace, V. 3, 5, VII. 124, 127, VIII. 110.  
The reading *Crestina* in I. 57 is doubtful; *Crotos* is suggested (not the town in Magna Graecia, but Cortona in Umbria).  
Crete, Cretan origin of Lycurgus' Spartan laws, I. 65; beginning of Minos' rule, I. 173; Samian settlers in Crete, III. 59; connexion of Crete with the settlement of Cyrene, IV. 161, 164, 165; Cretan reason for not joining the Greeks against Xerxes, VII. 160-171; Lycians originally Cretan, VII. 92  
Cretines, (1) a man of Magnesia in Greece, VII. 100. (2) A man of Rhegium, VII. 165  
Crinippus, a man of Himera, VII. 165  
Criscean plain, in Locris, VIII. 32  
Critalla, a town on Xerxes' route in Cappadocia, VII. 26  
Critoibus, (1) a man of Cyrene, II. 181. (2) A man of Torone, made governor of Olynthus by the Persians, VIII. 127  
Crius, a leading Aeginetan, sent to Athens as hostage for Aeginetan good faith, VI. 50, 73; his meeting with Themistocles at Salamis, VIII. 92  
Crobyzi, a Thracian tribe, IV. 49  
" Crocodiles' town," near Lake Moeris in Egypt; labyrinth there, II. 148  
Croesus, king of Lydia, son of Alyattes, extent of his rule, I. 6, 26-28; Solon's visit to him, I. 29-33; story of his son Atys,

## INDEX

L. 34-45; gifts to Delphi and preparations for war with Persia, I. 46-56, VIII. 35; negotiations with Athens and Sparta, I. 85, 90; story of the campaign, and Cyrus' capture of Sardis, I. 76-84; Croesus' escape from death, and his treatment by Cyrus, I. 85-92; advice to Cyrus as to government of Lydia, I. 155, 166; as to the Massagetae, I. 207; Croesus at Cambyses' court, III. 14, 36; friendship with the elder Miltiades, VI. 37; gift of gold to Alemeon, VI. 125 (other unimportant ref.)

Crophi, one of two hills (Mophi the other) alleged to be near the source of the Nile, II. 28

Crassaeus country, in Macedonia, VII. 123

Croton, in Magna Graecia; reputation of its physicians, III. 131; story of Democedes at the Persian court and his return to Croton, III. 131-138; war between Croton and Sybaris, V. 43; capture of Sybaris by Crotoniates, VI. 21; help sent by Croton (but by no other western colony) to Greeks against Xerxes, VIII. 47

Cuphagoraa, an Athenian, VI. 117

Curium, in Cyprus, its desertion to the Persians in the Cyprian revolt, V. 113

Cyanean (Dark) islands, in the Euxine near the Bosphorus, IV. 85, 89

Cyaxares, king of Media, I. 16; Scythian offences against him, I. 73; his victories over Scythians and Assyrians and capture of Ninus, I. 103, 106

Cybebe, a Phrygian goddess, her temple at Sardis burnt, V. 102

Cyberniscus, a Lycian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 88

Cyclades islands, none of them part of Darius' empire before the second Ionian revolt, V. 30; Aristagoras' promise to win them for him, V. 31

Cydippe, daughter of Terillus of Hinsena, VII. 165

Cydonia, a town in Crete founded by Samians, III. 44, 59

Cydrara, a town on the frontier of Lydia and Phrygia, VII. 30

Cyril, a slave class at Syracuse, VII. 155

Cylon, an Athenian murdered by the Alcmeonidae for aiming at despotic power, V. 71

Cyme, in Mysia, an Aeolian town, I. 149; its consultation of an oracle as to surrender of a refugee, I. 57; Cyme taken by the Persians, V. 123; station of Xerxes' fleet after Salamis, VIII. 130

Cynegitus, an Athenian killed at Marathon, brother of Aeschylus, VI. 114

## INDEX

Cynæci, the most westerly people of Europe, n. 33 (called *Cynetes*, iv. 49)

Cynæus, an Eretrian, vi. 101

Cyniscus, alternative name for Zeuxidemus, son of Leutychides, king of Sparta, xl. 71

Cyno, Cyrus' Median foster-mother, i. 110, 122

Cynosarges, a place in Attica with a shrine of Hercules, v. 63, vi. 116

Cynosura, a promontory of Salamis, viii. 76

Cynuri, a Peloponnesian people alleged to be aboriginal, viii. 73

Cyprus; worship of Aphrodite, i. 105, 109; "Linus" song there, ii. 79; Cyprus subdued by Amasis, ii. 182; under Persians, iii. 19, 91; Cyprian revolt and its suppression, v. 104–115, vi. 6; Cyprians in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 90, 98; despised by Artemisia, viii. 68, by Mardonius, viii. 100. "Cyprian poems," ii. 117

Cypselus, (1) despot of Corinth, son of Eëtion, i. 14, 20; his career, v. 92 (elsewhere a patronymic of Periander). (2) An Athenian, father of the elder Miltiades, vi. 35

Cyraunis, an island off Libya in the Mediterranean (perhaps the modern Ceratina), iv. 196

Cyrene; "lotus" grown there, ii. 96; Cyrenaean's visit to the oracle of Ammon, ii. 32; Egyptian attack on Cyrene, ii. 161, iv. 159; alliance with Amasis, ii. 181; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; early history of Cyrene and its kings, iv. 159–165; fertility of Cyrenaean country, iv. 199

Cymilææ, a Thracian tribe, iv. 93

Cyrus, (1) a legendary hero, son of Hercules, i. 107. (2) The modern Corsica; colonized by Phocaeans, i. 165, 167; attack on Gelon of Sicily, vii. 165. (3) A place near Caryae in Eubœa, ix. 105

Cyrus, (1) king of Persia; his campaign against Lydia, capture of Sardis, and clemency to Croesus, i. 75–82; story of Cyrus, his attempted murder by Astyages, adventures of his childhood and youth, and return to Astyages, i. 107–122; revolt of Persians under Cyrus against Medes, i. 123–130; Cyrus king of all Asia, i. 130; beginning of Ionian revolt against him, i. 141; conquest of Assyria and capture of Babylon, i. 188–191; Cyrus' campaign against the Massagetae and death in battle, i. 201–214; comparison of Cyrus with his son Cambyses, iii. 34; Croesus charged by Cyrus to advise Cambyses, iii. 36; different treatment of Babylon by Cyrus and Darius, iii. 159; Cyrus' advice to the Persians not to

## INDEX

live in a fertile country, ix. 122 (many other tell., mostly where the name is used as a patronymic). (2) Paternal grandfather of the above, i. 111

Cytissorus, a Colchian custom respecting his descendants at Alus in Achaea, vii. 197

Dadians, a people in the N.E. of the Persian empire; their tribute, iii. 91; in Xerxes' army, vii. 64

Daedalus, sought by Minos, vii. 170

Dai, a nomad Persian tribe, i. 125

Damasithymus, (1) king of the Calyndians, in Xerxes' fleet at Salamis, viii. 87. (2) A Carian officer in Xerxes' fleet, son of Candaules, vii. 98

Damaeus of Siris, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 137

Damia, a deity worshipped in Aegina and Epidaurus, v. 82, 83

Danaë, mother of Perseus, daughter of Acrisius, ii. 91, vi. 53, vii. 81, 150

Danaus, his legendary migration to Greece from Chemmis in Egypt, ii. 91, vi. 94; his daughters, ii. 171, 182

Daphnae, near Pelusium, on the Egyptian frontier, ii. 30, 107

Daphnis, despot of Abydos, iv. 135

Dardaneans, an Assyrian people, apparently, i. 189

Dardanus, a town on the Hellespont, v. 117, vii. 43

Darius, (1) king of Persia, son of Hystaspes; suspected by Cyrus, i. 209; story of his part in the conspiracy against the Magians, and his accession to the throne, iii. 79-87; canal made by him in Egypt, ii. 138, iv. 39; inquiry into varieties of custom, iii. 38; tribute paid by his empire, iii. 89-97; called "the hutter," iii. 89; severity of his rule, iii. 118, 119; punishment of Oroetes, iii. 127, 128; Democedes at Darius' court, iii. 129-132; plots against Greeks, iii. 134, 135; conquest of Samed, iii. 139-140; reduction of Babylon, iii. 150-160; Scythian expedition planned, iv. 1; Darius' passage of the Bosphorus, march to the Ister, and invasion of Scythia, iv. 63-68; Scythian campaign and return to Asia, iv. 118-143; Cyrenaean expedition, iv. 200-204; transportation of Paonians to Asia, v. 12-15; Histaeus summoned by Darius to Susa, v. 24; Darius' anger against Athens for the burning of Sardis, and his dispatch of Histaeus to Ionia, v. 106-107; reception of Scythes, vi. 24; estimation of Histaeus, vi. 30; demand of earth and water from Greek states, vi. 48, 49; Deinarnatus at Darius' court, vi. 70; reasons for

## INDEX

attack on Greece, vi. 94; meaning of the name Darius, vi. 98; Darius' clemency to the Eretrians, vi. 119; his preparations for a Greek campaign, vii. 1; appointment of a successor, vii. 2, 3; his death, vii. 4; Darius' treatment of an unjust judge, vii. 104. Gold coins called "Darii," viii. 28; (other roff. of little importance). (2) Xerxes' son, ix. 108

Daritae, a tribe in the Persian empire, iii. 92

Daseyleum, in Mysia, on the Propontis, the seat of a Persian governor, iii. 120, 126, vi. 33

Dasylylus, a Lydian, father of Gyges, i. 8

Datis, a Mede, in command with Artaphrenes of the expedition of 490 against Athens, vi. 94, 97, 118; his sons in Xerxes' army, vii. 88

Datum, in Paeonia, battle there between Athenians and Edonians, ix. 75

Daulians, in Phocis, viii. 35

Daurises, a general employed by Darius against the insurgent Ionians, v. 110-118, 121

Decelea, a deme of Attica, ix. 15; its privileges at Sparta, ix. 73

Decelus, eponymous hero of Decelea, ix. 73

Defroces, first king of Media, his rise to power, building of a palace at Agbatana, and conquest of Persia, i. 96-99, 101-103

Delphonius, a seer, from Apollonia in N.W. Greece, ix. 92, 95

Delium, in Boeotia, vi. 118

Delos, its purification by Pisistratus, i. 64; lake in Delos, ii. 170; visit of the Hyperborean virgins, iv. 33-35; sanctity of Delos respected by Persians, vi. 97, 118; station of Greek fleet before Mycale, viii. 133, ix. 90, 96

Delphi, its oracles, i. 13, 19, 47, 55, 65-67, 85, 107, 174, ii. 134, iii. 57, iv. 15, 160, 165, 181, v. 67, 82, 89, 92, vi. 19, 34, 52, 77, 80, 135, 139, vii. 140, 148, 178, 220, viii. 114, ix. 33, 93; its treasures, i. 14, 25, 50-55, 92, viii. 27, 35, 82, 121, ix. 81; repulse of the Persian attack on Delphi, viii. 36-39; corruption of the oracle, vi. 68

Delta of Egypt, ii. 13, 15-18, 41, 59, 97, 179

Damarnatas, king of Sparta, his feud with Cleomenes, v. 75, vi. 51; story of his birth and loss of his kingship, vi. 61-66; his flight to Persia, vi. 67-70; support of Xerxes' accession, vii. 3; warnings to Xerxes as to Greek resistance, vii. 101-104, 209; advice to Xerxes on his strategy, viii. 234-237; information to Greeks of Xerxes' planned campaign, vii. 230

## INDEX

Demaratus, a Spartan, v. 41, vi. 65  
Demeter, worshipped at Eleusis in Attica, vi. 75, viii. 65; other places of her cult, ii. 171, rv. 53, v. 61, vi. 91, 134, vii. 290, ix. 57, 63, 65, 69, 101; identified with the Egyptian Isis, ii. 122, 156  
Democedes, of Croton, a physician, brought to Darius from Samos, iii. 125, 131; his reputation, iii. 132; devices for return to Croton, iii. 134-137  
Democritus, of Naxos; his transference of Naxian ships from Persian to Greek fleet, viii. 40  
Democritus, of Mantinea, his settlement of troubles at Cyrene, iv. 161  
Demophon, of Paphos, vii. 195  
Demophilus, commanding Thespian forces at Thermopylae, vii. 222  
Dersaei, a Thracian tribe on Xerxes' route, vii. 110  
Derusinei, a tribe in Persia, i. 125  
Deucalion, legendary king of the Hellenes in Phthiotis, i. 50  
Diactorides, (1) a man of Crannon, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127. (2) A Spartan, father-in-law of Louty-chides, vi. 71  
Diadromes, a Thespian, vii. 222  
Dicasa, a Greek town on Xerxes' route in Thrace, vii. 109  
Dicaeus, an Athenian; his vision in Attica before Salamis, viii. 65  
Dictyna, a Cretan goddess, iii. 59 (if the text is genuine).  
Didyma, a Milesian temple, apparently identical with Bruchidae, vi. 19  
Dienees, a Spartan, his saying about Persian arrows at Thermopylae, vii. 226  
Dindymene, a name for the goddess Cybele; her sacred hill in Lydia, i. 80  
Dinomenes, father of Gelon of Sicily, vii. 145  
Diomedes, a Greek hero of the Trojan war, ii. 116  
Dionysius, a Phoenician, his attempt to train the Janus Goat, vt. 11, 12, 17  
Dionysophanes, an Ephesian, said to have buried Mardonius' body, ix. 84  
Dionysus, iii. 111; his cult in Greece, ii. 49, 62, 145; in particular localities and under various names, i. 150, ii. 29, iii. 8, 97, iv. 79, 87, 108, v. 7, 67, vii. 111; Identified with the Egyptian Osiris, ii. 42, 47, 123, 144, 156

## INDEX

Dioscuri, their worship unknown in Egypt, II. 43, 50; entertained by Eupherion, in Arcadian, VI. 127  
Dipaea, in Arcadia, scene of a battle about 470 B.C. between Spartans and Arcadians, IX. 35  
Dium, a town on Athos, VII. 22  
Doberes, a Paeonian tribe, V. 16 (if the reading be right), VII. 113  
Dodona, an oracle in N.W. Greece, consulted, I. 46, II. 52, IX. 93; story suggesting a connection between Egypt and Dodona, II. 53-57; Hyperborean offerings at Dodona, IV. 33  
Dolonci, a Thracian tribe, VI. 34, 40  
Dolopes, a Thessalian people, in Xerxes' army, VII. 132, 185  
Doriana, I. 57; Dorians of Epidaurus, I. 146; Dorian alphabet, I. 139; four Dorian invasions of Attica, V. 76; their women's dress, V. 87; names of tribes, V. 68; Dorian leaders of Egyptian origin, VI. 53; Dorians in Peloponnese, VIII. 73; Doris in N. Greece, IX. 31, 66; Asiatic Dorians, I. 8, 144, 178, VII. 92, 99  
Dorisca, on the Thracian coast, V. 98; an important halting place on Xerxes' route, VII. 25, 59, 108, 121; its defense by its Persian governor, VII. 106  
Dorus, son of Hellen, eponymous ancestor of Dorians, I. 56  
Doryssus, a king of Sparta, VII. 204  
Dotus, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 72  
Dropici, a Persian tribe, I. 125  
Drymusa, a town in Phocis, VIII. 33  
Dryopes, an ancient race in N. Greece, I. 140, VIII. 43, 46; their settlements in the Peloponnese, VIII. 73  
Dryocephalae, name of a pass in the Cithaeron range, IX. 39  
Dymantatae, a Dorian tribe at Sicyon, V. 68  
Dyme, a town in Achaea, I. 145  
Dymus, a stream west of Thermopylae, VII. 198  
Dyscrus, a mountain range on the N.E. frontier of Macedonia, V. 17  
  
Echaeates, a Corinthian, father of Etion, V. 92  
Echemus, king of Tegea, his victory over Hyllus, IX. 26  
Ehestratetus, a king of Sparta, VII. 204  
Echidrus, a river in Thrace, VII. 124, 127  
Echinades Islands, off the mouth of the Achelous, II. 10  
Edoni, a Thracian tribe, on the Strymon, V. 124, VII. 110, 114, IX. 75

## INDEX

Ethopas, a king of Tegea, ix. 26  
Etion, a Corinthian, father of Cypselus, v. 92  
Egesia, a town in Sicily, allied with Phoenicians against Greeks, v. 46, vii. 163  
Egla, a Spartan king, vii. 204  
Egypt, its extent, ii. 5-19; course of the Nile, ii. 19-34; Egyptian custom and religion, i. 140, 182, 193, 198, ii. 4, 35-98, iv. 168, 180, 186; kings of Egypt, ii. 99-182; eschatology, ii. 123; chronology, ii. 142-146; the pyramids, ii. 124-128; Egyptian origin of Dorian heroes, vi. 53-55; Solon in Egypt, i. 30; Scythian invasion, i. 105; alliance with Croesus, i. 77; Cambyses' invasion, iii. 1-16; his sacrilege, iii. 27, 28; Egypt a Persian province, iii. 91; Athenian campaign in Egypt, iii. 160; Darius' canal from the Nile, iv. 39; circumnavigation of Africa from Egypt, iv. 42, 43; Egypt and Cyrene, iv. 159; revolt of Egypt against Persia, vii. 1, 7; Egyptian bridge over the Hellespont, vii. 34; Egyptian marines in Persian fleet, viii. 80, viii. 68, 100, ix. 32; their exploits at Artemisium, viii. 17  
Elion, a town on the Strymon, vii. 25; its defence, and capture by the Greeks, vii. 107, 113; Xerxes said to have embarked there for Asia, vii. 118  
Electa, a town in the Thracian Chersonese, vi. 140, vii. 22; profanation of its shrine of Proteus, vii. 33, ix. 116, 120  
Elatea, a town in Phocis, viii. 33  
Etho, an island in the Delta, the refuge of the deposed king Arysias, ii. 140  
Eleon, a town in Boeotia, v. 43  
Elephantine, on the Nile opposite Aswan, ii. 9; the southern limit of Egypt, ii. 17; close to the source of the Nile, ii. 28; a Persian frontier guard there, ii. 30; stone-quarries of Elephantine, ii. 175; tribe of "Fish-eaters" there, iii. 19  
Eleusis, in Attica, scene of a battle, i. 30; the first objective of Cleomenes' invasion, v. 74, vi. 75; mysteries of Demeter-worship there and the vision of Diana, viii. 95; Greek forces there before Plataea, ix. 19; burning of the temple of Demeter by Persians, ix. 65  
Elias; Eleian management of Olympic games, ii. 160; no mules in Elis, iv. 30; destruction of neighbouring towns, iv. 148; Elis the only Aetolian part of Peloponnese, viii. 73; Eleans in the Greek force on the Isthmus, viii. 72; too late at Plataea, ix. 77

## INDEX

Ellazoi, probably Ligurians; Gelon of Sicily attacked by them and others, VII. 166  
Ellopian district of Euboea, VIII. 23  
Elorus, a river in Sicily, Syracuseans defeated on it by Corinthians, VII. 154  
Enarees, Scythians suffering from the so-called "female disease," I. 105, IV. 67  
Enchelees, an Illyrian tribe, claiming descent from Cadmus, V. 61; their incursion into Greece, IX. 43  
Eneti, a people at the head of the Adriatic, I. 190, V. 9  
Enienes, a people living at the headwaters of the Sperchous, VII. 132, 185, 198  
Enipeus, a river in Thessaly, VII. 129  
Enneacrunus, "Nine Springs" fountain outside Athens, VI. 137  
Entea Hodoi, "Nine Ways," a town on the Strymon, VII. 114  
Eordii, a people living between the Strymon and the Axios, VII. 185  
Epaphus, Greek name for the Egyptian Apis, q.v.  
Ephesus, in Lydia, of Ionian origin, I. 142; Croesus' offerings in the temple of Artemis there, I. 92; one of the most remarkable temples known to Herodotus, I. 148; Ephesus besieged by Croesus, I. 128; Ionians defeated there by Persians, V. 102; terminus of "royal road," V. 54; Xerxes' sons sent there after Salamis, VIII. 103  
Epiastes of Malia, his guidance of the Persians over the pass at Thermopylae, VII. 213-218  
Epicydes, a Spartan, father of Glanor, VI. 86  
Epidanus, see Apidanus  
Epidaurus, in Argolis; Dorian, I. 146; taken by Periander, III. 52; quarrel with Athens, V. 82; its colonies, VII. 90; Epidaurians in the Greek forces against Xerxes and Mardonius, VIII. I, 43, 72, IX. 28, 31  
Epigoni, a poem attributed by some to Homer, reference therein to Hyperboreans, IV. 32  
Epistrophus, a man of Epidamnus, VI. 127  
Eplum, a town in the western Peloponnese, founded by the Minyae, IV. 148  
Epizelus, an Athenian combatant at Marathon, VI. 117  
Epizephyrian Locrians, Locrian colonists in Sicily, VI. 23  
Erasilus, a river in Argolis alleged to be partly subterranean, VI. 76

## INDEX

Erechtheus, a legendary Attic hero; sacrifice offered to him by Epidaurians in return for Attic olive trees, v. 82; father of Oithyia, vii. 189; name of Athenians first used in his time, viii. 44; his shrine on the Acropolis, viii. 55.

Eretrea, in Euboea, Pisistratus in exile there, i. 61; native place of Gephryaei, v. 57; objective of Mardonius' campaign under Darius, vi. 43; of Datis, vi. 91, 98; subdued by Persians, vi. 100-102; Eretrian captives in Persia, vi. 119; contingent in Greek fleet, viii. 1, 46; at Plataea, ix. 28, 31.

Eridanus, a river in Europe, its existence doubted by Herodotus, iii. 115.

Erineus, a place in Doris, viii. 43.

Eriyses, avenging deities (of Laius and Oedipus), iv. 140.

Eroclus, a town in Phocis, burnt by the Persians, viii. 33.

Erxandrus, a Mytilenean, xv. 97, v. 37.

Erythea, an island alleged to be outside the Pillars of Hercules, iv. 8.

Erythrae, (1) a town in Boeotia, near Plataea, ix. 15, 19, 22; (2) An Ionian town in Asia Minor, i. 18, 142, vi. 8.

Erythre-bolos, "Red Earth," a town in Egypt, ii. 111.

Erythre-thalassa, the Persian Gulf and the nearer part of the Indian Ocean; Phoenicians coming from it, i. 1, vii. 89; mouth of the Euphrates and the Tigris in the Red Sea, i. 180, 189; united with the Mediterranean, i. 203; Arabian mountains in the direction of the Red Sea, ii. 8; our "Red Sea" (*Äsäßer adär*) an offshoot from it, ii. 11; identical with the "Southern Sea," ii. 168; captives settled by Persians in Islands of the Red Sea, iii. 93, vii. 80; Persia extends to its shores, iv. 37; Phoenician circumnavigation of Africa starting from the Red Sea, iv. 42; Ampe on the Red Sea, vi. 20.

Eryx, in western Sicily, v. 43, 45.

Eryx, wife of the second Arcesilaus of Cyrene, iv. 160.

Etearchus, (1) king of the Armonians; visit of Cyrenians to him, ii. 32. (2) King of Oaxus in Crete, iv. 164.

Eteocles, son of Oedipus, v. 61.

Ethiopians, of Menes, ii. 29; Ethiopian kings of Egypt, ii. 100, 137-140; circumcision in Ethiopia, ii. 104; Cambyses' mission to the "long-lived" Ethiopians, iii. 17-26, 97; Ethiopia in relation to Egypt, ii. 11, 28, 30, 110, 139, 146, 161; "Troglobyte" Ethiopians, iv. 183; "Ethiopians" of Asia, their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 70; Ethiopians in Cyprus, vii. 90.

## INDEX

Erasnetos, commander of a Lacedaemonian force in Thessaly before Thermopylae, vii. 173  
Evagoras, a Spartan, winner of three chariot-races at Olympia, vi. 163  
Eualeides, an Eretrian leader killed in the second Ionian revolt, v. 102  
Euboea, desirable object for Persian attack, v. 31; Chalcidians in Euboea defeated by Athenians, v. 77; Persians under Datis there, vi. 100; Athenian ships off Euboea, vii. 189; naval operations in Euboean waters, viii. 4-20; Euboean coinage, iii. 89, 95; Euboeans in Sicily, their treatment by Gelon, vii. 150  
Euelides, son of Hippocrates, despot of Gela, vii. 155  
Evelthon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, iv. 162, v. 104  
Evenius, a man of Apollonia, ix. 92  
Euhelespontes, a Libyan town near Barca, iv. 171, 204; fertility of its land, rv. 198  
Eumenes, an Athenian, distinguished in the battle of Salamis, viii. 93  
Euronus, a king of Sparta, viii. 131  
Eupallinus, a Megarian, builder of the Samian aqueduct, iii. 60  
Euphemides, the family designation of the first Battus of Cyrene, iv. 150. (Al. Euthymides.)  
Euphorbus, an Eretrian, his betrayal of Eretria to Datis, vi. 101  
Euphorion, (1) an Athenian, father of Aeschylus and Cynegirus, ii. 156, vi. 114. (2) An Azanian, vi. 127  
Euphrates, its source in Armenia, i. 180; course altered by Nitocris, queen of Babylon, i. 185; made fordable by Cyrus, i. 191; passage of the river on the "royal road," v. 52  
Euripus, channel between Boeotia and Euboea, part played by it in naval operations before Salamis, vii. 173, 182, viii. 7, 15, 60  
Europe, tripartite division of the world, Europe, Asia, Libya, ii. 16, rv. 36; speculations on the sun's passage over Europe, ii. 26; Europe bisected by the Ister, ii. 33, iv. 49; general ignorance of the farthest regions of Europe, iii. 115, iv. 45; absurdity of supposing the three continents equal in size, iv. 36; Cynetes on the western limit of Europe, iv. 49; Europe and Asia both more fertile than Libya, iv. 198; desirability of Europe to Persians, vii. 5; Xerxes' aim of subduing all Europe, vii. 50; region of Europe infested by lions, vii. 126; European part of Xerxes' army, vii. 185; Megara the western

## INDEX

limit of Persian advance in Europe, ix. 14 (many other unimportant refs.)

Europa, daughter of Agenor of Tyre; carried off by Cretans, i. 2; her sons Minos and Sarpedon, i. 173; alleged origin of the name of the continent, iv. 45; search made for her by Cadmus, iv. 147

Europus, a town perhaps in Caria, viii. 133

Eurybaax, a Spartan, joint commander with Panannias at Plataea, ix. 10, 53, 55

Eurybates, an Argive commander killed in battle with the Athenians, vi. 92, ix. 75

Eurybiades, Spartan admiral of the fleet at Artemisium and Salamis, viii. 2, 42, 49; part played by him in the councils of war before Salamis, viii. 57-61; decision not to pursue Xerxes, viii. 108; prize for chief merit awarded him by Greeks, viii. 124

Euryclides, a Spartan, father of Eurybinde, viii. 2

Eurycones, a king of Sparta, vii. 204

Eurycratides, a king of Sparta, vii. 204

Eurydame, second wife of Lemyrhides, king of Sparta, xl. 71

Eurydemus, a Malian, vii. 213

Euryleon, a Spartan colonist in Sicily, v. 40

Eurymachus, (1) a Theban, vii. 205, (2) Grandson of the above, killed in a Theban attack on Plataea, vii. 233

Eurypon, a king of Sparta, viii. 131

Eurypylus, an Aleurid, of Larissa in Thessaly, ix. 58

Eurythene, king of Sparta, founder of the senior of the two royal families, iv. 147, v. 39, xl. 51, vii. 204

Eurystheus, legendary king of Mycenae, ix. 26

Eurytus, a Spartan, his determination to fight at Thermopylae, vii. 220

Euthoenus, an Athenian, ix. 105

Eutychides, an Athenian, ix. 73

Euxine Sea, i. 6; part of Media nearest to it, i. 110; Sinope on the Euxine, ii. 34; provinces of the Persian empire on its coast, iii. 93; character of inhabitants of its northern shores, iv. 46; its length and breadth, iv. 85, 86; islands in it, iv. 59; Tauric peninsula, iv. 99; relation of Euxine to Xerxes' bridge over the Hellespont, vii. 36; corn-ships from the Euxine, vii. 147

Exampocas, a stream and district in Scythia between the Borythene and the Hypanis, iv. 51, 81

## INDEX

Gadira, a town "outside the Pillars of Hercules," identified with Cadiz, *iv.* 8  
Garrison, a stream near Mycale in Asia Minor, *ix.* 97  
Galepsus, a town on the promontory of Sithonia, in Chalcidice, *vii.* 122  
Gallato country (or Briantio), in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, *vii.* 108  
Gandarii, an Indian tribe in the Persian Empire, their tribute, *iii.* 91; in Xerxes' army, *vii.* 66  
Garamantes, a Libyan tribe on the route from Egypt to the Atlas, *iv.* 174, 183  
Gargaphian spring, on the battlefield of Plataea, *ix.* 25, 40, 51  
Gananes, one of three brothers, ancestors of the Tetraenid dynasty in Macedonia, their adventures, *viii.* 137  
Ge (Earth), worshipped in Scythia as Apia, *iv.* 59  
Gebelejgis, a Thracian deity, otherwise called Zalmoxis, *iv.* 94  
Gela, in Sicily, a Rhodian colony, *vii.* 153; Hippocrates its despot, *vi.* 29, *vii.* 154; usurpation of Gelon, *vii.* 155  
Geleon, eponymous hero of one of the four ancient Athenian tribes, *v.* 66  
Gelon, despot of Syracuse, his rise to power, *vii.* 154–155; reply to Greek request for help against Persia, *vii.* 145, 157–163; victory over Carthaginians and nations of the western Mediterranean (said to be contemporary with the battle of Salamis), *vii.* 165, 166  
Geloni, neighbours of the Scythians, said to be of Greek origin, *iv.* 108; their part in the campaign against Darius, *iv.* 102, 119, 130  
Gelonus, (1) son of Hercules, by Scythian legend, *iv.* 10. (2) The chief town of the Bodini (neighbours of the Geloni), built of wood, *iv.* 108  
Gephyræi, the clan to which Hipparchus' murderers belonged, their alleged Phoenician origin, *v.* 55, 57, 61  
Gernestus, a town at the southern extremity of Eubœa, *viii.* 7, *ix.* 105  
Gergis, a Persian general in Xerxes' army, *vii.* 82  
Gergithes, a people of Mysia, near the Hellespont, descendants of the Teueri, *v.* 122, *vii.* 43  
Germani, a Persian tribe, *v.* 125  
Gerrhus, a river and country in Scythia, *iv.* 19, 47, 53, 66; burial of Scythian kings among the Gerrhi, *iv.* 71  
Geryones, his oxen driven off by Hercules, *iv.* 8

## INDEX

Getae, a Thracian tribe said to believe in immortality, iv. 93, 118, v. 3

Gigonus, a town in Chalcidice, vii. 123

Gilligamæ, a Libyan tribe inland of Cyrene, iv. 169

Gillus, a Tarentine refugee in Persia, iii. 138

Gindanes, a Libyan tribe, iv. 176

Glaucos, an Athenian, ix. 75

Glaucus, (1) son of Hippolochus, ancestor of a Lydian dynasty, i. 47. (2) Son of Epicydes, a Spartan; story of his attempted fraud told by Lemychides at Athens, vi. 89. (3) A Chian worker in metals, i. 25

Gisias, a town in Boeotia near Tanagra, ix. 43

Gnurus, a Scythian, father of Anacharsis, iv. 76

Gobryas, (1) son of Darius, an officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 72. (2) One of the seven conspirators against the Magians, iii. 70-79; his advice to Darius in Scythia, iv. 132, 134; father of Mardonius, vi. 43; his daughter married to Darius, vii. 2 (elsewhere as a patronymic).

Goetosyrna, a Scythian deity identified with Apollo, iv. 50

Gonnus, a town in Thessaly, vii. 128, 173

Gordias, (1) father of Midas, viii. 138. (2) King of Phrygia, son of Midas; father of Adrestus, i. 35, 46

Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, v. 48; her advice to Cleomenes, v. 51; her interpretation of a message, vii. 230

Gorgon's head, brought from Libya by Perses, ii. 91

Gorgus, king of Salamis in Cyprus, v. 104, 115, viii. 11; in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 98

Grinnes, king of Thess., his consultation of the Delphic oracle about a colony in Libya, iv. 150

Grynea, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 140

Gygaea, daughter of Amyntas of Macedonia, married to Rubares, a Persian, v. 21, viii. 136

Gygæan lake, in Lydia, i. 93

Gyges, (1) king of Lydia; his accession after murdering Candaules, i. 8-13; his gifts to Delphi, i. 14. (2) A Lydian, iii. 122, v. 121

Gyndes, a river in Assyria diverted by Cyrus from its course, i. 189, 202

Gyzantes, a tribe in the western part of Libya, iv. 194

Haemus, a mountain range in Thrace (the Balkans), rivers flowing from it into the Danube, iv. 49

## INDEX

Haliacmon, a Macedonian river (mod. Vistritza), VII. 127  
 Halia, a town in Argolis, VII. 137  
 Halicarnassus, in Caria, Herodotus' birthplace, I. 144, 175,  
 II. 178, VII. 99  
 Halys, a river in Asia Minor, the eastern boundary of Croesus' empire, I. 6, 28, 72, 103, 120; crossed by Croesus, I. 75; its passage a part of the "royal road," V. 52; crossed by Xerxes, VII. 26  
 Harpalithres, a Median officer in Xerxes' army, son of Datis, VII. 88  
 Harmatides, a Thespian, VII. 227  
 Harmoedes, commander of Phocians in Mardonius' army at Plataea, IX. 17  
 Harmodius, an Athenian, one of the murderers of Hipparchus, V. 55, VI. 100, 123  
 Harpagus, (1) a Mede, in Cyrus' expedition against Croesus, I. 86; charged by Astyages to make away with Cyrus, I. 108-113; Astyages' punishment of Harpagus, I. 117-120; Harpagus' services in placing Cyrus on the throne, I. 123, 127, 129; in subduing the Ionians, I. 164-177. (2) A Persian officer under Darius, VI. 28, 30  
 Hebe, the name used as a watchword or battle-cry, IX. 98  
 Hebrus, a river in Thrace, IV. 90; Doriscus on it, VII. 59  
 Hecataeus of Miletua, the historian, his chronology, II. 143; his advice to Ionian rebels, V. 36, 125; his story of Athenian dealings with Pelasgians, VI. 137  
 Hector, son of Priam, probability of his surrendering Helen had she been in Troy, II. 120  
 Hegesandrus, of Miletua, father of Hecataeus, V. 125  
 Hegesileas, a king of Sparta, colleague of Leon, I. 65  
 Hégesilau, (1) king of Sparta, son of Dorydas, VII. 204. (2) A Spartan, ancestor of Loutychides, king of Sparta, VIII. 131; son of Hippocrates.  
 Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus of Thrace, wife of Miltiades the younger, VI. 39  
 Hegesistratos, (1) an Elean seer in Mardonius' army; story of his escape from death, IX. 37. (2) An emissary from Samos to the Greeks before Mycale, IX. 90. (3) Despot of Sigeum, bastard son of Pisistratus, V. 94  
 Hegesrides, of Cos; his daughter rescued after being carried off by Persians, IX. 76  
 Hegias, an Elean, brother of the seer Tissamenus, IX. 33

## INDEX

Helen, her abduction from Sparta, i. 3; account of her voyage to Egypt, ii. 112-120; brought to Attica by Theseus, ix. 73; her temple at Therape in Laconia, vi. 81

Helice, an Achaean town on the Gulf of Corinth, i. 145

Heliconius, the title of Poseidon at his temple in the Panionium near Mycale, i. 145

Heliopolis, in Egypt, sources of Egyptian history there, ii. 3; distances of various places from Heliopolis, ii. 7-9; ceremonial there, ii. 59, 63

Hellas and Hellenes, *passim* in all Books. The following are among the principal refl. to what is distinctively Greek: language, i. 110, ii. 30, 56, 59, 112, 137, 154, iii. 26, iv. 52, 110, 155, 192, vi. 98, viii. 135; dress, iv. 78, v. 58; homes, vii. 196; armour, ii. 41, iv. 180, vii. 91, 93; religious gatherings, ii. 58

Helle, daughter of Athamas, her tomb in the Thracian Chersonese, viii. 58

Hellen, an eponymous Greek hero, father of Dorus, i. 56

Hellespont, its length and breadth, iv. 85; despots of places by it with Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 137; Darius' passage of it in his return, v. 11; Hellespontine towns subdued by Ionian rebels, v. 103; reconquered by Darius, v. 107, vi. 33; Hellespont scourged by Xerxes for the destruction of his bridge, vii. 35; bridged again, vii. 36; Xerxes' passage, vii. 55; Hellespontians in his fleet, vii. 95; Persian governors of towns there, vii. 104; Greek decision not to sail to the Hellespont after Salamis, viii. 108; bridges there found broken, ix. 114 (many other unimportant refl.)

Hephaestiae, a town in Lemnos, vi. 140

Hephaestopolis, a Samian, ii. 134

Hephaestus, his cult in Greece (the torch-race), viii. 98; temple of "Hephaestus" (Ptah) at Memphis, ii. 3, 99, 101 and elsewhere in Bk. ii.

Helots, the serf class in Laconia, vi. 58, 75, 80, vii. 229, viii. 25, ix. 80, 85; a part of the Spartan army, ix. 10, 28

Heraclea, proposed foundation of in Sicily, v. 43

Heracles, in Greek legend son of Amphitryon and father of Hyllus, ii. 43-45, 145, v. 43, vi. 53, vii. 193, 204, viii. 43; Greek cult, vii. 176, v. 63, vi. 108, 110; cults of deities identified with Heracles in Egypt and elsewhere, i. 7, ii. 42, 44, 83, 113, 144, iv. 8, 10, 59, 82; Herodotus' conclusion as to a "double Heracles," ii. 44; Pillars of Heracles (Straits of

## INDEX

Gibraltar) farthest western waters known to Herodotus, II. 33, IV. 8, 42, 152, 181, 185, 196, VIII. 132  
Heraclidae, ancestors of Spartan kings, V. 43, VII. 208, VIII. 114, IX. 26, 33. Heraclid dynasty in Lydia, I. 7, 12, 91  
Heraclides, (1) a man of Cyme, I. 158, V. 37. (2) A man of Mylasa, a Carian leader, V. 121  
Heracum, a town near Perinthos, IV. 90  
Here, her temple at Samos, I. 70, II. 182, III. 123, IV. 88, 152, IX. 96; at Argos, I. 31, VI. 81, at Corinth, V. 62, at Naucratis, II. 178, at Plataea, IX. 52, 61, 69  
Hermes, his cult in Greece, II. 51, 145; identified with the Egyptian Thoth, at Bubastis, II. 133; with a Thracian deity, V. 7  
Hernion or Hermione, in S.E. Argolis, III. 69; of Dryopian origin, VIII. 43, 73; its contingent at Plataea, IX. 28, 31  
Hermippus of Atarnous, an emissary from Histiaea, VI. 4  
Hermolyous, an Athenian, distinguished in the battle of Mycale, IX. 105  
Hermophantus, a Milesian leader in the Ionian revolt, V. 99  
Hermopolis, in Upper Egypt, place of burial for ibises, II. 87  
Hermotimus of Pedasa, story of his sufferings and revenge, VII. 104-106  
Hermotyblea, one of the Egyptian warrior-tribes, II. 164, 165, IX. 32  
Hermus, a river in Lydia, passing near Sardis, I. 55, 80, V. 101  
Herodotus, (1) of Halicarnassus, the historian, I. I. (2) An Ionic envoy, son of Basileides, VIII. 132  
Herophantus, one of the Hellenopontian despots in Darius' Scythian expedition, IV. 138  
Herpyla, a man of Thebes in Boeotia, IX. 38  
Hesiod, his date, II. 53; his reference to Hyperboreans, IV. 32.  
Hieron, brother of Oeon of Sicily, VII. 166  
Hieronymus, of Andros, an Olympian prize-winner, IX. 33  
Himerus, a town in Sicily, VI. 24; its despot expelled, VII. 165  
Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, his assassination, V. 65, VI. 129; his banishment of Onomachus, VII. 8  
Hippias, son of Pisistratus, his advice to his father, I. 61; expelled from Athens, V. 85; a refugee in Persia, V. 96; with Datis' army in Attica, VI. 107  
Hippoelides, an Athenian suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter; his rejection, VI. 129  
Hippocles, despot of Lampsacus, with Darius' Scythian expedition, IV. 138

## INDEX

Hippocoön, a follower of Cadmus, v. 60  
Hippocrates, (1) an Athenian, father of Pisistratus, i. 59, v. 65.  
(2) An Athenian, son of Megacles, vi. 131. (3) Despot of Gela, son of Pantares, vii. 154; his capture of Zancle, vi. 23.  
(4) A man of Sybaris, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127  
Hippocrates, a Spartan, ancestor of Leutychides, viii. 131  
Hippolans' promontory, in Scythia, between the Hypanis and the Barysthenes, iv. 63  
Hippolechus, ancestor of a Lydian line of Ionian kings, i. 147  
Hippomachus, a Leucadian diviner with Mardonius' army at Plataea, ix. 38  
Hipponeicus, (1) son of Pisistratus' enemy Callias, an Athenian, vi. 121. (2) Father of Callias, Athenian envoy to Persia about 450 B.C., vii. 161  
Hestia, goddess of the hearth, ii. 60; her name Tabiti in Scythia, iv. 59, 127  
Histaea, in northern Eubaea, vii. 175, viii. 23, 66; Histiaean country in Thessaly, formerly a Dorian possession, i. 56  
Histiaeus, (1) despot of Miletus; his protection of Darius' bridge over the Ister, iv. 137-139; enforced attendance on Darius, v. 23-25; instigation of Ionian revolt, v. 35; return to Ionia, v. 104-108; escape from the Persians, vi. 1-6; further adventures and death, vi. 26-31. (2) A man of Tenedos, a Carian despot deposed by the Ionians, v. 37; in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 98. (3) A Samian, viii. 85  
Homer, his theory of the ocean disbelieved, ii. 23; his probable date, ii. 63; quoted as to Paris and Helen, ii. 116, 117; as to Libya, iv. 29; his alleged poem, "the Epigoni," iv. 32; his celebration of Argives, v. 67; of Athens, vii. 161  
Hopleas, eponymous hero of an old Athenian tribe, son of Ion, v. 66  
Hyacinthia, a summer festival at Sparta in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus, ix. 7, 11  
Hyampen, one of the peaks of Parnassus, viii. 39  
Hyampolis, a town in Phocis, viii. 39; Thessalian disaster there, viii. 29  
Hyatae, one of the tribes at Sicyon, so named by Cleisthenes, v. 68  
Hybla, a town in Sicily, vii. 155  
Hydarnes, (1) one of the seven Persian conspirators against the Magians, iii. 70; vii. 66, 83. (2) Son of the above, vi. 130;

## INDEX

commander of Xerxes' "Ten Thousand," vii. 83; governor of the seaboard of W. Asia Minor, vii. 135; his command at Thermopylae, vii. 211, 215, 218; with Xerxes in his flight after Salamis, viii. 113, 118

Hydrea, an island S.E. of Argolis, iii. 59

Hyleia, an Italian town (Velia) colonised by Phocaeans, i. 167

Hylaea (Woodland), a district of Scythia, east of the Borysthones, iv. 9, 18, 54, 76

Hyllees, a Sicyonian tribe so named after Cleisthenes' death, v. 68

Hyllus, (1) son of Hercules, ancestor of the Spartan royal families, vi. 52, vii. 204, viii. 131; his death, ix. 20. (2) A tributary of the river Hermus in Lydia, i. 80

Hymaenes, a Persian commander in the second Ionian revolt, v. 110, 122

Hymessus (Hymettus), a hill outside Athens, vi. 137

Hypachaei, an old name for Cilicians, vii. 81

Hypsacritis, a Scythian river, apparently east of the Borysthones, iv. 47, 65

Hypatia, a Scythian river (Boug), iv. 18, 47, 52, 81

Hyperanthes, a son of Darius, killed at Thermopylae, vii. 224

Hyperboreans, a people alleged to inhabit the farthest north of Europe, iv. 13; story of their communication with Delos, iv. 32-36

Hyperbie, one of two maidens alleged to have come to Delos from the Hyperboreans, iv. 33

Hyrcanians, a people in the Persian empire, S. of the Caspian, iii. 117; in Xerxes' army, vii. 62

Hyrgis (or Syrgis), a Scythian river (probably the Donets), iv. 57

Hyria, a town in S. Italy (Oria), alleged to be founded by Cretans, vii. 170

Hyrcades, a Mardian, his discovery of a way into Sardis, i. 84

Hysiae, a village on the slopes of Cithaeron, in Attica; taken by Boeotians, v. 74; vi. 108; part played by it on the battlefield of Plataea, ix. 15, 25

Hyscchonous, a Carian, vii. 98

Hystaspes, a Persian, vii. 77

Hystaspes, (1) father of Darius; his pledge to Cyrus of Darius' fidelity, i. 209, 210; governor of the province of Persia, iii. 70. (Elsewhere a patronymic.) (2) A son of Darius, vii. 64

Hytennees, a Pisidian tribe; their tribute to the Persian empire, iii. 90

## INDEX

Iadmon, a Samian, his slaves Rhodopis and Aeopas, II. 134  
Iamidae, a family of diviners in Elia, V. 44, IX. 33  
Iapygia, in the heel of Italy, III. 138, IV. 89, VII. 170  
Iardanus, a Lydian, I. 7  
Jason, his voyage in the Argo, IV. 170, VII. 193  
Iatragoras, an agent of the Ionians in revolt against Darius, V. 37  
Ibanollis, a man of Myliss, V. 37, 121  
Iberians, their traffic with Phocaei, I. 163; attack on Gelon of Sicily, VII. 105  
Icarian sea, VI. 95  
Iolus, a town in Macedonia, near the coast, VII. 123  
Ichthyophagi, a tribe inhabiting Elephantine, Cambyses' interpreters in his mission to the Ethiopians, III. 18-23  
Ida, a mountain in the Troad, I. 151; Xerxes' route past it, VII. 42  
Idanthyrsus, a Scythian king, IV. 76; in command of Scythians against Darius, IV. 120; his defiance of Darius, IV. 127  
Idriaid district in Caria, V. 118  
Ielysus, a Dorian town in Rhodes, I. 144  
Ionyusa, a town in Syria, near the Egyptian frontier, III. 5.  
Iliad, story of Paris and Helen in it, II. 116  
Hissus, a river in Attica; temple of Boreas built near it, VII. 189  
Ilium, the Trojan war there, I. 5, II. 10, 117-120, VII. 20, 161; Troad subdued by Persians, V. 122; traversed by Xerxes, VII. 42  
Illyria, customs of the Eneti there, I. 196; river Angrus there, IV. 49; flight to Illyria of the Temenid brothers, VIII. 137; Illyrian invasion of Greece, IX. 43  
Imbroe, in the N.E. Aegean, V. 26, VI. 41, 104  
Inachus, father of Io, I. I.  
Inarus of Libya, his revolt against Persia in 460 B.C., III. 12, 15, VII. 7  
Indians, their tribute to Persia, III. 94; their customs, III. 97-102, 104; conquest by Darius, IV. 44; most numerous people in the world, V. 3; in Xerxes' army, VII. 65, 80; with Mardonius, VIII. 113, IX. 31. Indian dogs, I. 192, VII. 187  
Indus, the river, Darius' exploration of it, IV. 44  
Ino, wife of Athamas, VII. 197  
Intaphernes, one of the seven conspirators against the Magians III. 70, 78; his presumption and punishment, III. 118

## INDEX

Iinx (or Inyeus), a town in Sicily, probably near Agrigentum, vi. 123

Io, daughter of Inachus, her abduction, i. 1, 5; depicted in the form of a cow, ii. 41

Ioleus, a town offered by the Thessalians to the exiled Hippias, v. 94

Ion, eponymous ancestral hero of the Ionians, v. 68, vii. 94, viii. 44

Ionians, subdued by Croesus, i. 6; Dorians and Ionian races, i. 50; threatened by Cyrus, i. 141, 142; their settlements in Asia, i. 143-153, ii. 178; conquest by Cyrus, i. 159-171; Ionian beliefs about Egypt refuted, ii. 15, 16; Sesostris' inscriptions in Ionia, ii. 166; Ionian pirates in Egypt, ii. 152; Amasis' Ionian guards, ii. 163; tribute paid by Ionians to Persia, iii. 90; Ionians with Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 80; left to guard the Ister bridge, iv. 97, 128, 133, 136-142; Ionian revolt against Darius, v. 28-38; Ionian and Phoenician writing, v. 58, 59; Ionian tribes in Attica, v. 69; Ionian dress, v. 87; course of Ionian revolt, and burning of Sardis, v. 97-103, 108-115; reduction of Ionian towns, v. 110-123; continuance of revolt and its final suppression, vi. 1-32 *passim*; Persian organisation of Ionia, vi. 42; Ionia "exposed to many risks" (in story of Glaucon), vi. 86; Ionians in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 94; Themistocles' appeal to them, viii. 22; Athenians called Ionians, viii. 44; Ionians in Peloponnese, viii. 73; Ionian ships with Xerxes at Salamis, viii. 85, 90; appeals from Ionia to the Greeks for help, viii. 132, ix. 90; Ionian desertion of Persians at Mycale, ix. 98, 103; revolt against Persia, ix. 104, 106; (other unimportant revs.)

Ionian sea, vii. 20, ix. 92

Iphiclus, father of Protesilaus, ix. 116

Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon; human sacrifice offered to her in Scythia, xv. 103

Ipol (Ovona), name of rocks at the foot of Pelion, the scene of a Persian shipwreck, vii. 188

Iressa, in Libya, the site of the founding of Cyrene, iv. 158

Irens, Spartan young men between 20 and 30 years of age, ix. 85

Is (Ilit), a place eight days distant from Babylon, on a river of the same name, producing bitumen, i. 170

Iastoras, an Athenian, rival of Cleisthenes the reformer, and supported by Sparta, v. 66, 70-74

## INDEX

Iachaeus, an Aeginetan, vii. 181  
Isis, an Egyptian deity, identified by Herodotus with Demeter, q.v.; represented with a cow's head, ii. 41, iv. 180; her temple at Busiris, ii. 59  
Issarus, lake in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, viii. 100  
Iamento, epithet of Apollo at Thebes, i. 52, 92, v. 59, viii. 134  
Issedones, a people living north of the Caspian, probably, i. 201, ii. 13, 16, 32; their customs, iv. 26  
Isthmus of Corinth, Greek council of war there, viii. 172; decision to guard it, viii. 40; to withdraw the fleet thither from Salamis, viii. 56; decision reversed, viii. 63; fortification of the isthmus, viii. 71; Peloponnesian policy of holding it, ix. 7-10; Greek advance from the isthmus, ix. 19; dedication of spoils of war there, viii. 121, ix. 81  
Istria, a Milesian colony at the mouth of the Ister, ii. 23  
Istria (Ister, Danube), compared to the Nile, ii. 26, 33; its course and tributaries, iv. 47-50; bridged by Darius, iv. 89; Ister ten days' journey from the Boryatheneus, iv. 101; Darius' recrossing of the river, iv. 141; unknown country N. of the Ister, v. 9 (some other unimportant refl.)  
Italia, river Crathis there, i. 145; Democedes in Italy, iii. 130-138; Metapontium, iv. 16; adventures of Dorieus in Italy, v. 43, 44; Athenian threat to migrate to Siris in Italy, viii. 122  
Itanus, a town in Crete, iv. 161  
Ithome, a hill and town in Messenia, ix. 35 (but the reading is doubtful).  
Ityae, a Scythian hunting tribe, iv. 22  
  
Laada, mother of Cypelius, despot of Corinth, v. 92  
Labdaeus of Thebes, father of Laia, v. 59  
Labraunda, in Caria; temple of a war-god there, v. 119  
Labyetus, (1) ruler of Babylon, i. 74. (2) His son, also ruler of Babylon, temp. Cyrus, i. 77, 188  
Lacedaemon (and Sparta); Lycurgus' legislation, i. 65, 66; Croesus' friendship with Lacedaemon, i. 69; Lacedaemon war with Argos, i. 82; with Tegea, i. 67, 68; attack on Samos, iii. 44-47, 54-56; Therae's colonising expedition from Lacedaemon, iv. 147-149; state of Sparta under Cleomenes, v. 39-43; Lacedaemonian invasion of Attica to expel the Pisistratids, v. 63-65, 70-71; feud between Spartan kings, and

## INDEX

origin of dual kingship, vi. 51, 52, 61-71; rights and duties of the kings, vi. 56-60; war with Argos, vi. 70-82; Spartan force too late for Marathon, vi. 120; claim to command against the Persians, vii. 169; Lacedaemonians under Leonidas at Thermopylae, vii. 204-232; Lacedaemonian envoys at Athens to maintain Athenian alliance, viii. 142-144; dilatory policy of Lacedaemonians after Salamis, ix. 7-11; their advance into Boeotia, ix. 19; Spartan tactics before Plataea, and conduct in the battle, ix. 46-70; at Mycale, ix. 102-104 (many other incidental refs.; see also Cleomenes, Eurybinides, Demaratus, Leonidas, Pausanias.)

Lacrunt, a mountain in N.W. Greece, above Apollonia, ix. 93

Lacrinus, a Spartan envoy to Cyrus, i. 152

Lade, an island off Miletus, headquarters of the Ionian fleet in the revolt against Darius, vi. 7, 11

Ladice of Cyrene, wife of Amasis of Egypt, n. 181

Laitus, son of Labdaeus, and father of Oedipus, v. 59; his oracles, v. 43

Lamprita, daughter of Lentzykhides, king of Sparta, vi. 71

Lampon, (1) a Samian envoy to the Greeks before Mycale, ix. 90. (2) An Athenian, ix. 21. (3) An Aeginetan, his advice to Pausanias to impale the corpse of Marathonius, ix. 78

Lamponium, a Lesbian colony in Myria, v. 26

Lampsacus, in the Troad, on the Hellespont, v. 117; its hostility to Miltiades, vi. 37

Lampratas, (1) son of Eteocles of Thebes, v. 61. (2) An Aeginetan, iv. 152. (3) Despot of Phoenicia, with Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 138

Lamiae, one of the Hyperboreans visitants at Delos, iv. 33

Lapithae, a pre-Hellenic race; a Lapith at Corinth, v. 92

Laphanes, an Azanian, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127

Lazuli, a people on the borders of Lydia; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 77

Laon of Hermione, his detection of a forgery, vii. 9

Laurium, in Attica, Athenian revenue from its silver mines, vii. 144

Latta, a town on the W. coast of southern Italy, vi. 21

Leagrus, an Athenian general in Thrace, 465 B.C., ix. 75

Learebus, brother and murderer of the second Areosilus of Cyrene, iv. 160

Lebadea, in northern Greece, its omacular shrine of Trophonius, viii. 124

## INDEX

Lebæa, a town in Macedonia, VII. 137  
Lebedos, an Ionian town in Lydia, I. 142  
Lectus, a premonitory in the Troad, IX. 114  
Lelegea, old name of the Carians, I. 171  
Leimnos, off the Troad, colonised by the Minyæ, IV. 145; its Pelasgian inhabitants, v. 26, VI. 138; their crime and penalty, VI. 138-140; Lemulans in Peloponnese, VIII. 73  
Leobotes, a king of Sparta, Lycurgus' wam., I. 65, VII. 204  
Lenocedes, an Argive, one of the suitors for Cleisthenes' daughter, VI. 127  
Leon (1) of Troezen, captain of the first Greek ship captured by Xerxes' fleet, VII. 189. (2) A king of Sparta, I. 65, V. 39, VII. 204  
Leonidas, king of Sparta, son of Anaxandrides, V. 41; his command and death at Thermopylae, VII. 204-238; atonement for his death demanded by Sparta, VIII. 114; Pausanias' refusal to avenge Leonidas on Mardonius' dead body, IX. 79  
Leontiades, commander of the Thebans at Thermopylae, VII. 205, 233  
Leontini, a town in Sicily, VII. 154  
Leoprepes, (1) a Spartan, VI. 85. (2) A Cean, father of Simonides, VII. 228  
Lepreum, a town in Elis, founded by the Minyæ, IV. 148; its contingent at Plataea, II. 28  
Lerissæ, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, I. 149  
Leros, off the Carian coast, proposal that the Ionian rebels against Darius should take refuge there, V. 125  
Lesbos, Aeolian towns there, I. 151; islands in the Araxes alleged to be as big as Lesbos, I. 202; Lesbians defeated by Polyclates of Samos, III. 39; their fleet in the Ionic revolt, VI. 8; Lesbos reconquered by Persians, VI. 31; received into Greek alliance after Mycale, IX. 106  
Leto, identified with the Egyptian Uat; her oracular shrine at Buto, II. 59, 152, 155  
Leucadians, in N.W. Greece; in the Greek fleet, VIII. 45, 47; in Pausanias' army at Plataea, IX. 28  
Leucus stelæ (White Columns), a place on the river Marsyas in Caria, V. 118  
Leuce Acte (White Strand), in Thrace, a centre for Xerxes' commissariat, VII. 25  
Leuson, a place in Libya, defeat of the second Arcesilaus by Libyans there, IV. 160

## INDEX

Loucon teichos (White Fort) at Memphis, held by a Persian garrison, iii. 91

Loutyelides, (1) a Spartan, great-great-grandfather of Leuctrides, king of Sparta, viii. 131. (2) King of Sparta; enemy and successor of Demaratus, vi. 65, 67; his family, vi. 71; his death (469 B.C.), vi. 72; his appeal to Athens to surrender Aeginetan hostages (story of Glaucon), vi. 80; his command of the Greek force before and at Mycale, ix. 90, 92, 98; return to Greece, ix. 114

Libya, part of it submerged by the Nile flood, ii. 18; extent of Libya, ii. 32; story of a crossing of the Libyan desert, ib.; Poseidon a Libyan deity, ii. 50; Libyn and Ikodona, ii. 54-55; Libyans a healthy people, ii. 77; Libyan tribute to Persia, iii. 91; heat of Libyn, iv. 20; Darius' proposed conquest of Libya, iv. 145, 167; list of Libyan tribes and description of their manners and customs, iv. 168-180; circumnavigation of Libya, iv. 42-43; early history of Cyrene, iv. 160-164; Dorians in Libya, v. 42; Ethiopians of Libya woolly-haired, vii. 70; Libyans in Xerxes' army, vii. 71, 86; with the Carthaginians in the attack on Gelon, vii. 165

Lichas, a Spartan, his discovery at Tegea, i. 67

Lide, a hill in Caria, defended against the Persians, i. 174

Ligyes, (1) an Asiatic contingent in Xerxes' army, apparently from near the Halys, vii. 72. (2) Ligurians, v. 9; their part in the invasion of Sicily, vii. 165

Limenelium, a place near Miletus, defeat there of Milesians by Sardianates, i. 18

Lindus, in Rhodes, temple of Athene there, ii. 182; Lindian founders of Gela in Sicily, vii. 155

Linus, a youth lamented in Greek song, identified by Herodotus with the Egyptian Maneros, ii. 79 (see note of loc.)

Lipaxis, a town in Chalcidice, vii. 123

Lipoxais, one of the three mythical ancestors of the Scythian nation, iv. 5.

Lipavrygium, probably on Mt. Parnes in Attica; fortified by the Almoneenidae, v. 62

Lissus, a town in Chalcidice, vii. 123

Lissus, a town in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, vii. 108

Locrians, in Italy (Epizephyrii), vi. 23; opposite to Euboea (Opuntians), vii. 132; in the Persian armies, viii. 60, ix. 31; with the Greeks at Thermopylae, vii. 203, 207; Locrian ships

## INDEX

in the Greek fleet, VIII. 1; Ozolian Locrians, flight of the Delphines thither, VIII. 32  
Lutophugi, in the Cyrencean part of northern Libya, on the sea coast, IV. 177, 183  
Lyssias, title of the Delphic Apollo, I. 91, IV. 163  
Lycaetus, a Samian, brother of Macandrius, III. 143; made governor of Lemnos by the Persians, V. 27  
Lyceians, their kings of Ionia, I. 147; Lyceians originally Cretans, I. 173; their resistance to the Medes, I. 176; tribute to Persia, III. 90; in Xerxes' army, VII. 92  
Lycedas, an Athenian, put to death for advising negotiations with Persians, IX. 5  
Lycomedes, an Athenian, distinguished in a sea-fight off Artemisium, VIII. 11  
Lycoptas, a Spartan, distinguished in an attack on Samos, III. 55  
Lyceophron, son of Periander of Corinth; his quarrel with his father, III. 60-63  
Lycurgus, (1) the Spartan legislator, I. 85, 66. (2) An Athenian, leader of the "men of the plain," son of Aristolaenus, I. 69. (3) An Arcadian, VI. 127  
Lyces, (1) an Athenian, son of Pandion; Lycea called after him, I. 173, VII. 92. (2) A Scythian, IV. 76. (3) A river in Scythia, flowing into the Maeotian lake, IV. 123. (4) A river in Phrygia, flowing by Colomae, VII. 30  
Lydians, *passim* I. 6-56, 69-92 (but without any important mention of the name; see Sardis and Croesus); notable sights in Lydia, and its customs, I. 93, 94; Ionians in Lydia, I. 142; Croesus' advice as to Cyrus' government of Lydia, I. 154-156; Lydian tribute to Persia, III. 90; Lydian theory of the name Asia, IV. 45; wealth of Lydia, V. 40; Alemeon's good offices to Lydians, VI. 125; Xerxes' passage through Lydia, VII. 30-32; Lydians in his army, VII. 74  
Lydus, a river between Bottiaea and Macedonia, VII. 127  
Lydus, son of Atys, origin of the name Lydia, I. 7, 171, VII. 74  
Lygdamis, (1) a Halicarnassian, father of Artemisia, VII. 99. (2) A Naxian, a friend and helper of Pisistratus, I. 61, 64  
Lynceus, alleged to have come with his uncle Danaüs from Chennæ in Egypt, II. 91  
Lytagoras, (1) a Milesian, father of Histineus, V. 30. (2) A Parian, son of Tisias; enemy of the younger Miltiades, VI. 133  
Lycaon of Eretia, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, VI. 127  
Lyicles, an Athenian, VIII. 21

## INDEX

Lynimachus, an Athenian, father of Ariades, viii. 79  
Lysistratus, an Athenian oracle-worshipper, viii. 86

Maeac, a tribe on the Libyan coast, iv. 175, v. 42  
Macedonians, a name for Dorians in their early settlements near Mt. Pindus, i. 56, viii. 43  
Macedonia, access to it from the east, v. 17; fate of Persian envoys there, v. 18-20; subdued by Mardonius, vi. 44; passes from Macedonia into Thessaly, vii. 128, 173; Macedonians in Xerxes' army, viii. 185, at Plataea, ix. 31; story of the beginnings of the Temenid dynasty, viii. 137-139; Macedonians governing Boeotia for Persians, viii. 34 (see also Alexander).

Machlyes, a tribe on the Libyan coast, iv. 178, 180  
Macistius, see Masistius.

Macelatus, a town in the west of the Peloponnese, founded by the Minyae, iv. 148

Maerones, a tribe S.E. of the Euxine, ii. 104; their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 78

Maelorium, a town near Gela in Sicily, vii. 163

Madyles, a Scythian king; his invasion of Media and conquest of Asia, i. 104

Madytus, a town in the Thracian Chersonese, near Xerxes' bridge, vii. 83, ix. 120

Maeander, a river between Lydia and Caria; its windings, n. 29; source at Celænae, vii. 26; crossed by Xerxes, vii. 30

Maeandrius, secretary to Polydorus of Samos, iii. 124; Polydorus' deputy, iii. 142; his death, iii. 143

Maeotæ, a tribe north of the Maeotian lake, iv. 123; the Tanais called Maeotian, iv. 45

Maeotian lake (False Maeotis, Sea of Azov), its distance from the Phasis, i. 104; mouth of the Tanais there, iv. 67, 100; nearly as large as the Euxine, iv. 86, 110, 110, 120, 123

Magedon (Megiddo of O.T.), on the Egyptian and Syrian frontier; alleged scene of a battle (really fought not here but at Megiddo) between Egyptians and Syrians, ii. 150

Magi, a Median tribe of magicians and interpreters of dreams, i. 101; their services in this respect, i. 107, 120, 128, 132, 140, vii. 19, 37, 43, 113, 191; the Magian usurpation of royalty and its end, iii. 61, 63-69, 71, 74-80

Magnesia, (1) a district in Thessaly, Xerxes' fleet there, vii. 183, 193; Magnesians in Xerxes' army, vii. 132, 185. (2) A

## INDEX

town in Asia near the Maeander, taken by Medes, i. 161; Polyortes put to death there by Oroetes, iii. 125; Magnesian tribute to Persia, iii. 90

Malea, the southernmost promontory of Peloponnese; all western Greece as far as Malea once ruled by Argos, i. 82; Jason's voyage near it, iv. 170; Corcyraeans' pretext that they could not pass Malea, vii. 168

Malene, near Atarnes in Mysia, scene of a battle in the Ionian revolt, vi. 29

Males, an Aetolian suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127

Mandane, daughter of Astyages and mother of Cyrus, i. 107, 111

Mandrocles, a Samian, constructor of Darius' bridge over the Bosporus, iv. 87, 88

Manteros, son of Min, the first king of Egypt; lament for his early death identified with the Greek Lament-song, ii. 79

Manes, an early Lydian king, i. 94, iv. 45

Mantinea, in Arcadia; an arbitrator sent thence to settle the affairs of Cyrene, iv. 161; Mantineans at Thermopylae, vii. 202; their late arrival at Plataea, ix. 77

Mantyes, a Paeonian, his and his brother's proposal to the Persians to annex Paeonia, v. 12

Mariphi, a Persian tribe, i. 125

Marathon, on the N.E. coast of Attica; Pisistratus' landing there after exile, i. 62; Persian landing under Datis, vi. 102; preliminaries to the battle, and the battle itself, vi. 107-117 (a few more unimportant ref.)

Mardi, a Persian tribe, i. 125

Mardonius, son of Gobryas, his expedition to Greece and shipwreck off Athens, vi. 43-45; his warlike counsel to Xerxes, vii. 5, 9; one of the six generals in command of Xerxes' army, vii. 82, 121; in Xerxes' confidence, viii. 97; proposal for operations in Greece after Salamis, viii. 100-102; Xerxes' promise that Mardonius should give the Greeks satisfaction for the death of Leopidas, viii. 114; Mardonius in Thessaly, viii. 131; his consultation of oracles, viii. 135; proposal through Alexander for an Athenian alliance, viii. 140; his second capture of Athens, ix. 3; retreat into Boeotia and position there, ix. 14, 15; operations near Plataea, ix. 17-25, 38-40; dispute between Mardonius and Artabazus, ix. 41, 42; taunting message to Spartans, ix. 48; his cavalry attack on the Greeks, ix. 49; final engagement, and death of Mardonius, ix. 61-63; his burial, ix. 84

## INDEX

Mardonius, a Persian, one of Xerxes' officers, vii. 80; in command of Persian fleet after Salamis, viii. 130; his death at Mycale, ix. 102.

Mare, a frontier post in western Egypt, ii. 18, 30.

Mares, a tribe apparently on the S.E. coast of the Euxine; tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 79.

Mariandyni, a tribe in Paphlagonia; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 72.

Maria, a northern tributary of the Danube, according to Herodotus (but this is wrong, if Maria is modern Marosch), iv. 40.

Maron, a Spartan distinguished at Thermopylae, vii. 227.

Maronea, a Greek town in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, vii. 109.

Marmyas, (1) the "Silenus" according to legend worsted in a musical competition and flayed by Apollo, vii. 26. (2) A river in Caria, v. 118. (The better known Marmyas in Phrygia is called Catarractes by Herodotus, vii. 26.)

Mascamas, Persian governor of Dorisene in Thraea; his defence of the town, vii. 105.

Masistes, son of Darina, one of the six generals of Xerxes' army, vii. 82, 121; his quarrel with Ariaynter, ix. 107; victim of Xerxes' adultery and cruelty, ix. 110-113.

Masistius, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 79; in command of cavalry at Plataea, ix. 20; his death, and mourning for him, ix. 22, 24.

Maspia, a Persian tribe, i. 125.

Massages, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 71.

Massagetae, a people apparently N. of the Caspian; Cyrus' campaign against them, i. 201, 204-208, 211-214; their customs, i. 215, 216; Scythians driven from their country by Massagetae, iv. 11.

Massilia (Massilia, Marseilles), v. 9.

Matleni, a people of doubtful locality; on the right of the Halys, i. 72; source of the Araxes, i. 202; of the Gyndes, i. 180; of the modern "Greater Zab," v. 52; west of Armenia, v. 49; tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 72.

Matten, a Tyrian officer in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 98.

Mansolus, a man of Cindye in Caria, v. 118.

Mecisteus, brother of Adrastus according to legend, and slain by Melanippus, v. 67.

Megyberna, a town on the Sithonian promontory of Chalcedice, vii. 122.

Medea, her abduction by Jason, i. 2; Media called after her, vii. 62.

## INDEX

Medians (as distinct from Persians), their war with Lydia, i. 16; the Balya their frontier, i. 72; Cyaxares' feud with Scythians, i. 73; Medians' revolt from Assyria, and growth of their power, i. 93-102; conquered by Scythians, i. 104, iv. 1; their liberation, i. 106, iv. 4; subjection of Media to Persia by Cyrus, i. 123-130; Median system of government, i. 134; their dress, i. 135, iii. 84, v. 9; Babylonians alarmed by Median power, i. 185; Median tribute to Persia, iii. 92; horses, iii. 100, vii. 40; Media on the northern frontier of Persia, iv. 37; Medians in Xerxes' army, vii. 62; at Thermopylae, vii. 210; in Mardonius' army, viii. 113, ix. 31, 40

Megabates, a Persian general, Darius' cousin, v. 32, 35

Megabazus, (1) a Persian general, left by Darius in Thrace on his Scythian expedition, iv. 143; Darius' estimation of him, ib.; his operations in Thrace, v. 1, 10, 12, 14, 17, 23. (2) One of Xerxes' admirals, son of Megabates, vii. 97

Megabyzus, (1) a Persian, one of the seven conspirators against the Magians, iii. 70; advocate of oligarchy for Persia, iii. 81. (2) A Persian, father of Zopyrus, iii. 163. (3) Son of Zopyrus; one of the generals of Xerxes' army, vii. 82, 121; in command subsequently in Egypt, iii. 160

Megacles, (1) an Athenian, father of Alcmeon, vi. 125. (2) Son of Alcmeon; leader of the "Men of the Coast," i. 59; father-in-law of Pisistratus, i. 61; married to the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, vi. 127, 130. (3) Grandson of Megacles (2), and grandfather of Pericles, vi. 131

Megareon, of Abdera, his saying about the feeding of Xerxes' army, vii. 120

Megastenes, a Persian, vii. 105

Megapannus, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, afterwards governor of Babylon, vii. 62

Megara, a Dorian settlement, on the borders of Attica, v. 76; Megarians in the Greek fleet, viii. 1, 45; in Pausanias' army, ix. 21, 28, 31; their disaster, ix. 69, 85. Megarians of Sicily, their treatment by Gelon, vii. 156

Megaidrus, a Persian, vii. 72

Megistias, an Achaean diviner, with Leonidas at Thermopylae, viii. 219, 221; his epitaph, vii. 228

Melonians, old name of Lydians, i. 7; in Xerxes' army, vii. 74

Melampus, a legendary hero and teacher; his introduction of the cult of Dionysus into Greece, ii. 49; ancestor of Megistias, vii. 221; his demands of privileges at Argos, ix. 34

## INDEX

Melampygus, name of a rock on the mountain side above Thermopylae, vii. 216.

Melanclibusi (Black-Cloaks), a tribe N. of Scythia, iv. 20, 100; their customs, iv. 107; their part in the war with Darius, iv. 119, 125.

Melanippus, (1) a legendary Theban hero; his cult introduced at Sicyon, v. 67. (2) A Mytilenean, a friend of the poet Alcaeus, v. 95.

Melanthius, an Athenian commander sent to assist the Ionian rebels against Darius, v. 97.

Melanthius, father of Cedrus, i. 147, v. 65.

Mela (black), epithet of (1) a river in Thrace, crossed by Xerxes, vii. 58. (2) A bay into which the above flows, vi. 41, vii. 58. (3) A river in Malis near Thermopylae, vii. 198.

Meles, king of Sardis, i. 84.

Melibea, near the coast of Magnesia; wreck of Xerxes' fleet near it, viii. 188.

Melians (of Melis, or Malis), their submission to Xerxes, vii. 132; mountains of Melis, vii. 198; Thermopylae in Melia, vii. 201; discovery of the Anøjæa path, vii. 215; Melians in Persian armies, viii. 60, ix. 31; Melian gulf a stage on the way from the Hyperboreans to Delos, iv. 33.

Melians of Melos, colonists from Lacedaemon, in the Greek fleet, viii. 46, 48.

Melissa, wife of Periander of Corinth, iii. 50, v. 92.

Membilarus, a Phoenician, founder of a settlement in the island of Calliste or Thera, iv. 147.

Mennon, legendary king of Ethiopia; a rock figure in Ionia wrongly taken to represent him, ii. 106; Sun called "Mennonian," v. 53, vii. 151.

Memphis, in Egypt, its temple of "Hephneatus," ii. 3, 112, 153; pyramids there, ii. 8; hills above it, ii. 12, 158; Nile flood below Memphis, ii. 97, 99; works of Min there, ii. 99; precinct of Proteus, ii. 112; quarries of Memphis, ii. 175; water supply from Memphis, iii. 8; Memphis taken by Cambyses, iii. 13; his return thither from Ethiopia, iii. 25; his sacrifice there, iii. 37; Persian garrison there, iii. 91; Darius and Syloson at Memphis, iii. 138.

Menares, a Spartan, father of Leutychides, vi. 65, 71, viii. 131.

Mende, a town on the promontory of Pallene in Chalcidice, vii. 123.

Mendes, an Egyptian deity; identified with Pan, ii. 42, 46;

## INDEX

Mendesian province, n. 42, 46; inhabited by one of the Egyptian warrior tribes, n. 166; Mendesian mouth of the Nile, n. 17

Menelaus, (1) brother of Agamemnon; his visit to Egypt, n. 118, 119; Cretans reminded of their assistance of Menelaus before Troy, vii. 169, 171. (2) A harbour near Cyrene, iv. 169

Menius, a Spartan, brother-in-law of Leutychides, vi. 71

Merbalus, an officer in Xerxes' fleet, from the island of Andros, vii. 98

Mermnadæ, the reigning dynasty in Lydia from Gyges to Croesus, l. 7, 14

Meroë, on the Nile, the capital of Ethiopia, n. 29 (probably Napata)

Mesambria, a town on the Thracian coast of the Aegean, iv. 93, vi. 33, vii. 108

Messapii, a people near Tarantum, said to be of Cretan origin, vii. 170

Messene, in Sicily (Messina), otherwise called Zancle; a Greek settlement there, vii. 164

Messenia, its alliance with Samos, iii. 47; war with Sparta, v. 49, ix. 55, 64

Metapontium, near Croton in Italy, its story of the reincarnation of Aristea, iv. 15

Metiochus, son of the younger Miltiades, his capture by Persians, vi. 41

Metrodorus, one of the Hellenopontian despots with Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 139

Myrthus, governor of Rhodium, his defeat by Messapians and his offerings at Olympia, vii. 170

Midas, king of Phrygia, son of Gordias, his offerings at Delphi, i. 14; his gardens in Macedonia, viii. 138

Miletus, in Caria, attacked by Gyges, l. 14; war with Alyattes, l. 17-22; an Ionian town, l. 142; agreement with Cyrus, l. 160; port of Borysthenes a Milesian settlement, iv. 78; wealth and dissensions of Miletus, v. 28, 29; Aristagorus its governor, v. 39; Milesians defeated by Persians in Ionic revolt, v. 120; threatened attack of Miletus by Persians, vi. 6-7; siege, capture, and depopulation of the town, vi. 18-22; Phrynichus' drama on the subject, vi. 22; Persian fleet off Miletus, vi. 31; story of the Milesian and Olaneus, vi. 86; Miletus' foundation by Neleus, ix. 97; Milesians' desertion

## INDEX

of the Persians at Mycale, ix. 104 (other less important refl.; see also Aristagoras and Histiaeus).  
Milon of Croton, the wrestler, Democedes' alleged betrothal to his daughter, iii. 137  
Miltiades, (1) an Athenian, son of Cypselus, his rule in the Thracian Chersonese, vi. 34–35, 103 (temp. Croesus). (2) Nephew of the above, son of Cimon; also ruler of the Chersonese, vi. 34; his advice to the Lymians to cut off Darius' retreat from Scythia, iv. 137; his escape from the Scythians, vi. 40; from the Phoenicians, vi. 41; one of the ten generals at Marathon, vi. 103, 104; his decision to fight, vi. 109, 110; his attack on Paros, vi. 132; conquest of Lemnos, vi. 140; his impeachment and death, vi. 130  
Milyae, old inhabitants of Lydia, i. 173; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 77  
Min, the first human king of Egypt, ii. 4; his embankment of the Nile near Memphis, ii. 99  
Minos, in Sicily, a colony from Selinus, v. 46  
Minos, king of Crete, expulsion of his brother Sarpedon, i. 173; his Carian auxiliaries, i. 141; his death in Sicily, vii. 169  
Minyae, a people from Orchomenus, their Asiatic settlements, i. 146; adventures of Minyan descendants of the Argonauts in Laeadaemon and the western Peloponnese, iv. 145–148; the first Battle of Cyrene & Minyan, iv. 150  
Mitra, a Persian deity identified with Aphrodite, i. 131  
Mitridates, Cyrus' foster-father, i. 110  
Mitrobates, a Persian governor at Daacyleum, killed by Oroetes, iii. 126  
Moesarchos, a Samian, iv. 95  
Moesiphius, an Athenian, his advice to Themistocles before Salamis, viii. 57  
Moeris, king of Egypt, 900 years before Herodotus, ii. 13; his work at Memphis and elsewhere, ii. 101; lake of Moeris (in the Fayyum) and labyrinth adjacent described, ii. 69, 148, 149; revenue of Persia from it, iii. 91  
Molossus, a stream on or near the battlefield of Plataea, ix. 57  
Molossians, a people of Epirus, their alleged settlements in Asia, i. 140  
Molpagoras, a Milesian, father of Aristagoras, v. 30  
Monemphis, in Egypt, battle there between Apries and Amasis, ii. 163, 169

## INDEX

Mophi, one of two hills alleged to be near the source of the Nile (see Crophi), ii. 28

Moschi, a tribe at the E. end of the Euxine, their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 78

Messynoeci, a tribe between Armenia and the Euxine, their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 78

Munychia, on the Attic coast E. of the Piraeus, the eastern extremity of Xerxes' line before Salamis, viii. 79

Murychides, a Hellenopontian envoy from Mardonius to the Athenians, ix. 4

Mussena, his oracles, vii. 6, viii. 90, ix. 43

Mycale, an Ionian promontory opposite Samos; Panionium there, i. 148; flight of Chians thither after Lade, vi. 16; defeat of Persians by Greeks at Mycale, ix. 90, 95-101

Myrenaeans, at Thermopylae, vii. 202; Hermelidae and Myrenaeans, ix. 27; Mycenaeans in Panaeans' army, ix. 31

Mycerinus, king of Egypt, son of Cleops, his virtues and misfortunes, and his way of prolonging his life, ii. 129-133; his buildings, and economic state of Egypt in his time, ii. 130

Myri, a tribe probably in the south of Persia, their tribute, iii. 93; in Xerxes' army, vii. 98

Mycumna, an island in the Aegean, near Delos, vi. 118

Myceporite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 156

Mygdonia, a district on the Thracian gulf, vii. 123, 127

Mylasa, a town in Caria; temple of Zeus there, i. 171

Mylitta, an Assyrian deity identified with Aphrodite, i. 131, 199

Myrcinus, a town of the Elatians in Thrace, given to Histaeus, v. 11, 23; Aristagoras' retreat thither, v. 126

Myriandris gulf, the bay of Issus in Asia Minor, iv. 38

Myrina, (1) an Aeolian town in Mysia, i. 149. (2) A town in Lemnos, taken by Miltiades, vi. 140

Myrmex (the Ant), name of a reef between Magnesia and Sciatissa, vii. 183

Myrrin, grandfather of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, vi. 126

Myrsilus, Greek name for Candaules, despot of Sardis, i. 7

Myrsus, (1) father of Candaules, i. 7. (2) A Lydian coniary of Oroetes, iii. 122; his death in battle in Caria, v. 121

Myr, a man of Euporus sent by Mardonius to consult oracles, viii. 133-135

Mysia, plagued by a wild boar, i. 36; Mysians "brothers" of the Carians, i. 171; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; legendary

## INDEX

Myrian and Teucrian invasion of Europe, vii. 20; Myrians in Xerxes' army, vii. 74; with Mardonius at Plataea, ix. 32  
Mytilene, in Lesbos; a Lydian refugee there, i. 160; an Aeolian town, ii. 178; Mytilenaeans killed by Egyptians, in war with Cambyses, iii. 13; execution by Mytilenaeans of their despot Coës, v. 11, 38; Mytilene and Athens reconciled by Periander, v. 95; Histiaeus at Mytilene, vi. 5  
Myus, an Ionian town in Caria, i. 142; Ionian despots arrested at Myus, v. 36; its contingent in the Ionian fleet, vi. 8

Naparia, a northern tributary of the Danube, iv. 48  
Nasamones, a Libyan people near Cyrene, ii. 32; story of their passage of the Libyan desert, *ib.*; their customs, iv. 172, 182, 190

Nathos, an Egyptian province in the Delta, partly inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 105

Naukratis, in the west of the Delta, near the sea, ii. 97; its courtesans, ii. 136; its importance as a port, and Greek settlement there, ii. 178-180

Nauplia, a town on the sea-coast of Argolis, vi. 76

Naustrophus, a Megarian, iii. 60

Naxos, in the Aegean, subdued by Pisistratus, i. 64; its wealth and civil dissensions, and proposed annexation by the Persians, v. 28-30; devastated by Datis, vi. 96; desertion of Naxian ships to the Greek fleet, viii. 46. Naxians of Sicily, annexed by Hippocrates of Gela, vii. 154

Nea: a "new town," (1) in Upper Egypt, ii. 91. (2) In Pallene, vii. 123

Necos, (1) father of Psammetichus, king of Egypt, killed by Sabaces, ii. 152, (2) Son of Psammetichus; his canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, ii. 158; despatch of Phoenicians to circumnavigate Africa, iv. 42

Nelidae, descendants of Neleus of Pylus; the Pisistratids so described, v. 65

Neeses, an Athenian, father of Themistocles, vii. 143

Neon, a town below one of the peaks of Parnassus, viii. 32

Neon teichos (New Fort), an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 140

Nereids, worship of them unknown in Egypt, ii. 50; deities of the Sphæra promontory, propitiated by the Magi to abate a storm, vii. 181

Neascan plain in Media, vii. 40; horses bred there, iii. 106; ridden in Xerxes' army and at Plataea, vii. 46, ix. 20

## INDEX

Nestor, of Pylos, the Homeric hero, ancestor of Pisistratus, v. 65  
Nestus, a river in Thrace flowing past Abdera, crossed by Xerxes, vii. 109; no lions in Europe E. of it, vii. 126  
Nourl, northern neighbours of the Scythians, iv. 17, 100; said to turn into wolves, iv. 105; their part in the war with Darius, iv. 119, 125  
Nicandra, youngest of the priestesses of Dodona, ii. 55  
Nicander, a king of Sparta, viii. 131  
Nicodromus of Aegina, his attempted betrayal of Aegina to Athens, vi. 88, 90  
Nicolaeus, (1) a Spartan, vii. 134. (2) Son of Bulis and grandson of the above, a victim of the vengeance of Talthybius on the Spartans, vii. 197  
Nile; lower Egypt perhaps the deposit of the Nile, ii. 10; height of inundation, ii. 11; Delta and Nile mouths, ii. 17; theories of the Nile flood, ii. 19-27; known course of the river, ii. 28-30; its upper waters, and comparison of Nile and Danube, ii. 31-34; Nile flood and fish, ii. 98; flood below Memphis, ii. 97; Min's embankment, ii. 99; Nile connected with the lake of Moeris, ii. 149; Neos' canal from Nile to Red Sea, ii. 158, iii. 42; Nile mouths all closed to trade except one, formerly, ii. 179; Nile one of the boundaries of the world, iv. 45; Nile and Danube compared in respect of volume of water, iv. 50; source of the Nile unknown, iv. 53. A priesthood of the Nile, ii. 90  
Nileus, son of Codrus, his foundation of Miletus, ix. 97  
Ninus, (1) son of Belus and king of Assyria, i. 7, ii. 150. (2) Nineveh; taken by the Medes, i. 100, 185; capital of Assyria, suspended by Babylon, i. 178; on the Tigris, i. 193; robbery of Sardanapalus' treasures there, ii. 150  
Nipaei, a Thracian tribe of Salmoneus, their submission to Darius, iv. 93  
Nisaea, the port of Megara, taken by the Athenians, i. 59  
Nisyrus, an island S. of Coe, its ships under Artemisia's command, vii. 99  
Nitettis, daughter of Apries; one of Cambyses' wives, iii. 1  
Nitocris, (1) an Egyptian queen; her revenge for her brother's death, ii. 100. (2) Queen of Babylon; her treatment of the Euphrates, i. 185  
Nobs, a Thracian tributary of the Danube, iv. 49  
Nonacria, a town in Arcadia, near the "water of Styx," vi. 74

## INDEX

Nethon, an Eretrian, vi. 100  
Nesium, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149  
Nodium, a town in the W. of the Peloponnese, founded by the Minyae, iv. 148  
Nympholorus, of Abdera, his betrayal of Spartan envoys to the Athenians, vii. 137  
Nyse, in Ethiopia, called "the sacred," its cult of Dionysus, ii. 146, iii. 97

Oarizus, a Persian, vii. 71  
Oarus, a river in Scythia running into the Palus Maeotis, iv. 123  
Oasis, a town eight days west of the Egyptian Thelos (apparently the modern "Great oasis" of Khargeh), inhabited by Samians; reached by Cambyses' force sent against the Ammonians, iii. 26  
Oaxus, a town in Crete, ruled by Etearchus, iv. 154  
Oceanus, the circle of sea (or river) supposed to surround the whole world; this theory questioned by Herodotus, ii. 21, 23, iv. 8, 36  
Octanassades, a king of Scythia; his murder of his brother Seyles, iv. 80  
Oeytus, a Corinthian, father of Adimantus, viii. 5  
Odomanti, a Thracian or Paeonian tribe inhabiting the range of Pangaeum, v. 18 (if the reading be right), vii. 112  
Odrysae, a Thracian tribe on Darius' route to the Danube, iv. 92  
Odyssey, quoted by Herodotus, ii. 110, iv. 29  
Oen, a place in Aegina; figures of Damis and Auxesia carried thither, v. 83  
Obares, (1) Darius' groom; his trick to ensure Darius' election as king, iii. 85-88. (2) Persian governor at Dascyleum, son of Megabazus, vi. 33  
Oedipus, son of Laius of Thebes, his "avenging deities," iv. 149; v. 60  
Oenoe, a northern division of Attica, taken by the Boeotians, v. 74  
Oenope, ancient name of Aegina, viii. 46  
Oenotria, the toe of Italy, i. 167  
Oenussae, islands between Chios and Asia Minor; the Phoenicians' proposal to buy them from Chios, i. 165  
Oebazus, (1) a Persian, Darius' cruel treatment of him, iv. 84.

## INDEX

(2) A Persian, father of Sisemithres, vii. 68. (3) A Persian fugitive from the Greeks in Thrace, his death there, ix. 115, 119  
Oeulyceus, son of Theras of Sparta; origin of his name, iv. 149  
Oeroë, a tributary of the Asopus, on or near the battlefield of Plataea, ix. 51  
Oeta, the mountain range S. of Thermopylae, vii. 178, 217  
Octosyrus, a variant of Goetosyrus, q.v.  
Obiopolites, Greek name for the people of the Borysthenite port (Obbia) on the Euxine, iv. 13  
Olen, a Lycean hymn-writer, iv. 35  
Olenus, a town on the seacoast of Achaea, i. 145  
Oliatus of Mylae, his seizure by the Ionians, v. 37  
Olaphykos, a town on the promontory of Athos, vii. 22  
Olatus, a Thracian king, father-in-law of the younger Miltiades, vi. 39  
Olympia, offerings there, vii. 170, ix. 81; sacrifice to obtain oracles, viii. 134  
Olympic games, i. 89; before battle of Thermopylae, vii. 200; of Salamis, viii. 72; victories won by Philippus, v. 47; Olympos, v. 71; Miltiades the elder, vi. 30; Demaratus, vi. 70; Cimon, vi. 103; Callias, vi. 122; Alcmeon, vi. 125; Cleisthenes, vi. 126; Hieronymus, ix. 33; crown of olive given as the prize, viii. 28; management of games by Kleaüs, ii. 180, vi. 127; competition limited to Greeks, v. 22  
Olympiodorus, an Athenian leader at Plataea, ix. 21  
Olympos, Mount, (1) in Thessaly, i. 60; northern boundary of Thessaly, vii. 129; pass between Olympus and Ossa, vii. 173. (2) In Mysia; haunted by a wild boar, i. 36, 43; Mysians called Olympians, vii. 74  
Olyntius, in Chalcidice, vii. 122; besieged and taken by Artaxerxes, viii. 127  
Ombrioi, the people of central and northern Italy; Lydian settlement there, i. 94; source of a river Alps in the country above the Ombrioi, iv. 49  
Orentae, name given to a Scythian tribe by Cleisthenes, v. 68  
Onesilus, a leader in the Cyprian revolt against Darius, v. 104, 108; his duel, and death in battle, v. 110–115  
Onetes of Carystus, Herodotus' denial that he was the Persians' guide over the Anopaei pass at Thermopylae, vii. 214  
Onochonus, a river in Thessaly alleged to have been drunk dry by Xerxes' army, vii. 129, 190

## INDEX

Onomacritus, an Athenian purveyor or forger of oracles, at Xerxes' court, VII. 7

Onomastus of Elia, a suitor for Cleiathenes' daughter, VI. 127

Onuphile: province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, II. 160

Ophryneum, a town in the Troad, VII. 43

Opis, (1) a town on the Tigris (at the highest point of navigation), I. 189. (2) One of the Hyperborean pilgrims to Delos, IV. 35

Opsea, wife of Ariapithes and afterwards Soylea of Scythia, IV. 78

Opuntians, see Locrians.

Orbelus, a mountain in Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the lake-dwellers, V. 16

Orchomenus, (1) in Arcadia; its contingent at Thermopylae, VII. 202; at Plataea, IX. 28. (2) In Boeotia; Minyans there, I. 146; territory overrun by Persians, VIII. 34

Ordesius, a Scythian tributary of the Danube, IV. 48

Orestes, son of Agamemnon, discovery of his tomb at Tegea, I. 67

Orestium, apparently on the route from Sparta to Megalopolis, IX. 11

Orgens, a Thasian, VII. 118

Orius, son of Ariapithes, king of Scythia, IV. 78

Orius, the port of Apollonia in N.W. Greece, IX. 93

Oribiyyin, legendary daughter of Erechtheus and wife of Boreas, VII. 189

Ormenae, inhabitants of Ormenae in Argolis, of inferior status like the Spartan Perioeci, VIII. 73

Ornetes, Persian governor of Sardis, his treacherous murder of Polyeteres, III. 120-125; his downfall and death, III. 126-129

Oronedon, a Cilician, VII. 98

Oropus, on the Attic coast opposite Euboea, VI. 101

Orotalt, an Arabian deity identified with Dionysus, III. 8

Orphic rites, their similarity to Egyptian, II. 81

Oridphantus, a Spartan, VII. 227

Orus, an Egyptian deity, identified with Apollo, q.v.

Ostria, identified with Dionysus, q.v.

Ossa, a mountain in Thessaly, I. 58; separated from Olympus by the Peneus, VII. 129, 173

Otanes, (1) a Persian, father of Xerxes' wife Amestris, VII. 40, 61, 82. (2) A Persian, made a judge in place of his father Susannes by Cambyses, V. 25; his command against the

## INDEX

Ionian rebels, v. 110, 123. (3) A Persian, son of Pharnaces, originator of the conspiracy against the Magians, iii. 66–72; his advocacy of democracy for Persia, iii. 80; surrender of his claim to be king, iii. 83; Darius' father-in-law, iii. 88; in command in Samos, iii. 144–147

Olaspes, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 63

Othryades, the one survivor of 300 Lacedaemonians in a battle with 300 Argives, i. 82

Othrys, the range forming the S. boundary of Thessaly, vii. 120

Otolae, see Loerians.

Pactolus, a river flowing through Sardis, v. 101

Pactya, a town at the head of the Thracian Chersonese, vi. 36

Paetyes, a leader of a Lydian revolt against Cyrus, i. 154; his surrender to the Persians, i. 161

Paetyes, a people in the E. of the Persian empire, near India; Selyax' voyage thence down the Indus, iv. 44; in Xerxes' army, vii. 67; another "Paetyeo" near Armenia, its tribute to Persia, iii. 93

Padaci, an Indian tribe, said to be cannibals, iii. 98

Paeonian deme of Attica, i. 69

Paeonia, (1) a country west of Thrace, iv. 49; its war with Perinthus, v. 1; conquest and removal of Paronians by Persians, v. 12–17, 23; their return, v. 98; on Xerxes' route, vii. 113, 124; in Xerxes' army, vii. 185, ix. 32; their theft of Xerxes' chariot, viii. 116; Paeonian sacrifices, iv. 33. (2) A place in Attica at the foot of Mt. Parnes, v. 62

Paeoplae, a Paeonian tribe, v. 15; on Xerxes' route, vii. 113

Paeus, a Hellespontian town taken by the Persians in the Ionian revolt, v. 117

Paeuli, a Thracian tribe on Xerxes' route, vii. 110

Paeum (or Paetus), a town in N.W. Arcadia, vi. 127

Paganas, at the head of the Paganian gulf in Magnesia, a station of Xerxes' fleet, vii. 193

Paleae, a people of Cephallenia; in Pausanias' army, ix. 28

Palestine, in Syria, i. 105; circumcision practised there, ii. 104; pillars set up there by Sesostrius, ii. 106; Syrians of Palestine in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 89

Pallas, see Athene; Libyan and "Palladian" worship, iv. 189

Pallene, one of the promontories of Chalcidice, vii. 123; its people attacked by Artabazus, vii. 126–129

Pamisus, a river in Thessaly, vii. 129

## INDEX

Pammon of Scyros, his guidance of the Persian fleet to Magneia, vii. 183  
Pamphyli, name assumed by a Dorian tribe at Sicyon, v. 68  
Pamphylia, in Asia Minor, subdued by Croesus, i. 28; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; contingent in Xerxes' army, vii. 91; disgraced by Artemisia, viii. 68  
Pan, one of the "youngest" Greek gods, ii. 145; his cult at Athens, vi. 105; identified with the Egyptian Mendes, ii. 42, 46, 145  
Panactius of Tenos, his news of the Persian encirclement of Salamis, viii. 82  
Panathenaic, a festival celebrated every fourth year at Athens; murder of Hipparchus at it, v. 59  
Panionium, a legendary Athenian, father of Lycus the hero of the Lycians, i. 173  
Panigaeum, a mountain range in Thrace, v. 16, vii. 112  
Panionia, the festival of the Ionian stock, i. 148  
Panionium, an Ionian place of meeting for council or ceremonial, near Mycale, i. 148, 170, vi. 7  
Panionius of Chios, his crime and punishment, viii. 105, 106  
Panites, a Measenian, his advice to the Spartans about the royal succession, vi. 53  
Panopaea, on the borders of Phocis and Boeotia, Xerxes' army there, viii. 24  
Panormus, a harbour near Miletus, i. 157  
Panurginus, brother of, and put to death by Polydorus of Samos, iii. 39  
Pontoleon, half brother of Croesus, put to death by him for conspiracy, i. 92  
Pontares, a man of Gela, vii. 154  
Ponticines, a Persian tribe, i. 125  
Ponticapea, a river in Scythia east of the Barysthenes, iv. 18, 47, 51  
Ponticatti, a tribe in the Persian empire, S. of the Caspian, their tribute, iii. 92  
Pontites, said to have been sent as a messenger to Sparta from Thermopylae, vii. 232  
Popaeus, a Scythian deity identified with Zeus, iv. 59  
Paphlagonians, west of the Halys in N. Asia Minor, i. 6, 72; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 72  
Paphos, Paphian ships in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 196  
Papremis, a town in Egypt, its cult of Ares, ii. 50; ceremonial

## INDEX

there, II. 63; "river-horses" sacred in the province, II. 71; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, II. 71; a battle there between Persians and Egyptians, III. 12  
Paracabates, a Spartan with Dorians in Sicily, v. 40  
Paralatae, a race of Scythian kings, IV. 6  
Pampotamii, a town in Phocis burnt by the Persians, VIII. 33  
Pareteeni, a Median tribe, I. 101  
Paricanii, a people in the S.E. of the Persian empire, tribute to Persia, III. 92, 94; in Xerxes' army, VII. 68, 80  
Parium, a town on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, V. 117  
Parissis, daughter of Smerdis and wife of Darius, III. 88, VII. 78  
Parmessus, the mountain above Delphi, a refuge for the Delphians, VIII. 27, 32, IX. 31; repulse of Persians there, VIII. 57  
Paroeteatae, a people of the west of the Peloponnesus, IV. 148; of Lemnian origin, VIII. 73  
Paros, one of the Cyclades, Parian settlement of the troubles of Miletus, V. 28, 29; Miltiades' repulse from Paros, VI. 133-135; neutrality of Parians in the Persian war, VIII. 67; their bribe to Themistocles, VIII. 112; Parian marble, V. 62  
Parthenium, a mountain in Arcadia, vision of Pan seen there by Philippides, VI. 105  
Parthenius, a river in the west of Paphlagonia, Syrians in its neighbourhood, II. 104  
Parthians, S.E. of the Caspian, their tribute to Persia, III. 93; in Xerxes' army, VII. 66  
Patargidae, a Persian tribe, I. 125  
Pasicles, probably an Athenian, IX. 97  
Patazel, Phoenician images of dwarfs, III. 37  
Patroclus, a man of Aegaeus, VII. 134  
Patara, in Lycia, a custom of the temple there, I. 182  
Patarbenus, an Egyptian, his message from Apries to Amasis, and cruel treatment by Apries, II. 162  
Patirnaphes, Xerxes' charioteer, son of Otanes, VII. 40  
Patiteithes, brother of the pretended Smerdis, his plot to make his brother king, III. 81  
Patre, a town on the seacoast of Achaea, I. 145  
Patrumus, an "Arabian" town, a little way west of the modern Janiassis, canal from the Nile near it, II. 168  
Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus and grandson of Anaxandrides king of Sparta, IX. 10; mentioned repeatedly as leader of the Greeks against Mardonius, IX. 10-82; (personal allusions) his proposal to the Athenians for a rearrangement of the battle

## INDEX

line, ix. 46; special appeal to Athenians, ix. 60; instance of his generosity and courtesy, ix. 76, 79; bronze tablet dedicated by him on the Bosphorus, iv. 81; his pride and ambition after the Persian war, v. 82, viii. 3  
 Pausaeæ, a tribe S. of the Caspian; their tribute to Persia, i. 17, 92  
 Pausiris, an Egyptian, permitted by the Persians to succeed to the governorship of his rebel father Amyrtaeus, iii. 15  
 Pedasus (or Pedasa), a place in Caria, v. 121, vi. 20; singular story of a priestess there, i. 175, viii. 104  
 Pedleis, a Phoenician town burnt by the Persians, viii. 33  
 Pelagian, a name applied by Herodotus to the oldest known inhabitants and remains in Greece, contrasted with "Hellenic," I. 56; Pelasgian language probably non-Greek, i. 57; Pelasgian forts, *ib.*; Arcadian Pelasgian, i. 140; deities, ii. 50-52; Hellas formerly called Pelasgia, ii. 56; expulsion of Minyæ by Pelasgiæ, iv. 145; Lemnos and Imbras Pelasgian, v. 26; expulsion of Pelagi from Attica, vi. 137-139; ep. v. 64 and viii. 44  
 Pelops, Thetis carried off by him from Magnesia, vii. 101  
 Pelion, the Argos built there, iv. 170; Pelion and Ossa in the E. of Thessaly, vii. 129; wreck of Xerxes' fleet near Pelion, viii. 8, 12  
 Pella, a town in Macedonia, vii. 123  
 Pellene, an Achaean town, near Sicyon, i. 145  
 Peloponnes, migration of Dorians thither, i. 56, ii. 171; most of the Peloponnes subject to Sparta temp. Croesus, i. 88; Peloponnesian tale of Attacharsis, iv. 77; Peloponnesian invasion of Attica, v. 74; Peloponnesian scale of ransom, vi. 79; security of property there, vi. 80; contingents at Thermopylae, vii. 202; Peloponnesians auxiliæ to guard the Isthmus, viii. 40, 49, 71, ix. 8; contingents at Salamis, viii. 43; Artemisia's advice to Xerxes about the Peloponnes, viii. 68; various nations of Peloponnes, viii. 73; prophecy of expulsion of Dorians, viii. 141; Peloponnesian armies in antiquity, ix. 26; Athenian jealousy of Peloponnesians, ix. 106; Peloponnesian return from Mycale, ix. 114 (other ref. of less importance)  
 Pelops, called by Xerxes a Phrygian settler in Greece, vii. 8, 11; Pelopides a title of Agamemnon, vii. 159  
 Pelusium, at the E. mouth of the Nile, near the Arabian frontier of Egypt, ii. 15, 141; Pelusian mouth, ii. 17; Greek settle-

## INDEX

ments there, ii. 161; Xerxes' encampment there in Cambyses' invasion, iii. 10

Penelope, Pan said to be her son, ii. 145, 146

Penēus, a river in Thessaly, limit of the legendary Mysian and Taurian invasion from Asia, vii. 20; its mouth viewed by Xerxes, vii. 128; pass into Thessaly along its banks, vii. 173

Pentylus, his command of Paphian ships in Xerxes' fleet, captured by the Greeks, vii. 195

Percalus, daughter of Chilon of Sparta, betrothed to Leutychides but carried off by Demaratus, vi. 85

Peroue, a town on the Hellespont taken by the Persians in the Ionic revolt against Darius, v. 117

Perdiccas, v. 22; his escape from Lebaen and establishment of the Temenid dynasty in Macedonia, viii. 137-139

Pergamum, the ancient citadel of Troy, Xerxes' visit to it, vii. 43

Pergamus, a Thracian fort, Xerxes' route past it, vii. 112

Perilla, a Delphian priestess, deprived of her office for fraud, vi. 66

Periander, despot of Corinth, son of Cypselus, his warning to Thraylebulus, i. 20; reception of the minstrel Arion, i. 23, 24; his quarrel with his son, and revenge upon the Coreymenea, iii. 48-53; his tyranny and cruelty, v. 92; his reconciliation of Athens and Mytilene, v. 85

Pericles of Athens, his Alcmaeonid parentage, vi. 131

Perilus, a Sicyonian leader killed at Mycale, ix. 103

Perinthus, an European town on the Propontis, iv. 90; its war with the Paeanians and conquest by the Persians, v. 1, 2; burnt by Phoenicians, vi. 30

Perioeci, Laconians inferior in status to the Spartans, their attendance at royal funerals, vi. 58; their contingent in the Spartan army, ix. 11

Peripheres (= carriers), officials at Delos, their connection with the story of communication between Delos and the Hyperboreans, iv. 33

Perhaebi, a Thessalian tribe, Xerxes' passage through their country from Macedonia, vii. 128, 131, 173; in Xerxes' army, vii. 185

Perse, son of Perseus, the eponymous hero of the Persians, vii. 61, 150

Perseus, son of Danaë, vii. 61, 150; his supposed Egyptian

## INDEX

origin and temple at Chemmis, II. 91; Persian belief that he was an Assyrian, VI. 63, 54; "Perseus' watchtower" alleged to be in the west of the Delta, II. 15

Persians: their stories of Greek wrong-doing, I. 1-5; conquest of Lydia, I. 75-85; liberation from the Medes, I. 123-130; Persian tribes, I. 125; customs, I. 131-140, VI. 58, 59, IX. 110; hostilities against Ionians, I. 154-177; capture of Babylon, I. 188-191; campaign against Massagetae, I. 201-214; against Egypt, II. 1; Persians under Cambyses and Darius, see abstract of Book III, specific ref.; Persian judges, III. 31; freedom of Persia from taxation, III. 97; its geographical situation, IV. 37; Persian campaign in Scythia, IV. 1, 83-142; Persians in Libya, IV. 200-205. General history of Persian doings in remaining Books, see abstracts in Introductions to Vols. III and IV. Specific ref. in later books: origin of Persians, VI. 53, 54, VII. 81, 160; Persian council, VII. 8; armour, VII. 61; Persian and Spartan customs compared, VI. 58, 59; Cyrus' counsel to the Persians, IX. 122

Persidae, Achaemenid kings of Persia so called, I. 125

Petra, a deme or district of Corinth, V. 92

Phaedyme, daughter of Otanes, her discovery about the pseudo-Smerdis, III. 68, 89

Phaenippus, an Athenian, father of Callias, VI. 121

Phagres, a Pierian fort in Thracia, Xerxes' route past it, VII. 112

Phalerum, a port of Attica, V. 110; scene of a battle between the Pisistratids and the Spartans, V. 63; destroyed by Aegina-tans, V. 81; Xerxes' fleet there, VIII. 66, IX. 32; flight of Persian ships thither, VIII. 91

Phanageras, a man of Caryae, VII. 214

Phanes, a Halicarnassian, his desertion from Amasis to Cambyses and its punishment, III. 4, 11

Pharne, a town in Achaea, I. 145

Pharnabates, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 79; story of his Greek concubine, IX. 70

Pharbalithite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, II. 166

Pharnaces, a Persian, father of Ariabazus, VII. 66 et al.

Pharnaspes, a Persian, father of Otanes, and of Cyrus' wife Cassandane, II. 1, III. 2, 68

Pharnazathres, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 65

Pharnuches, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, his accident at Sardis, VII. 88

## INDEX

Phaeolis, a Dorian town of Asia Minor, its part in the Greek settlement at Naukratis, II. 178

Phasis, a river in Colchis at the E. end of the Euxine, IV. 37; the Argonauts there, I. 2; distance from the Palus Maeotis, I. 194; Sesostris' army there, II. 103; boundary of Europe and Asia, IV. 45

Phayllus of Crotone, a victor in the Pythian games, captain of the one ship from Sicily or Italy in the Greek fleet, VIII. 47

Phlegon, an ancestor of kings of Tegen, IX. 26

Pheneüs, a town in Arcadia near the "water of Styx," VI. 74

Pherendates, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 67

Pheretime, wife of Arcesilaus, her banishment from Cyrene and appeal to Cyprus, IV. 162; to Persia, IV. 165, 167; her revenge and death, IV. 202, 205

Pheros, king of Egypt, son of Sesostris, his blindness and its cure, II. 111

Philippides, an Athenian messenger to Sparta, his vision of Pan, VI. 105

Phidias, despot of Argos, father of Leocedes, VI. 127

Phigalea, a town in Arcadia; a boar from it, VI. 83

Philaenus, son of Alce, an Athenian, ancestor of Miltiades, VI. 35

Philagrus of Eretria, his betrayal of that place to the Persians, VI. 161

Philaon, a Cyprian in Xerxes' fleet, his capture by the Greeks, VIII. 11

Philes, a Scythian, III. 60

Philippos, (1) king of Macedonia, son of Argaeus, VIII. 130.  
(2) A man of Crotone, son of Butacides, his victory at Olympia, physical beauty, and death with Dorieus in Sicily, V. 47

Philistus, his foundation of a temple of Demeter near Mycale, IX. 97

Philition, a shepherd alleged by the Egyptians to have built the Pyramids, II. 128

Philocyon, a Spartan distinguished in the battle of Plataea, IX. 71, 85

Philocyprus, a Cyprian of Soli, a friend of Solon, V. 113

Phln, an island in the Tritonis lake in Libya, IV. 178

Phlegra, ancient name of Pallene, VII. 123

Phlius, a town in Argolis, its contingent at Thermopylae, VII. 202; at Plataea, IX. 28, 31; losses in the latter battle, IX. 69, 85

Phoenicia, an Ionian seaport in Lydia, I. 142; Phoenician enter.

## INDEX

prise in the western Mediterranean, I. 103; town captured by Persians, I. 104; flight of Phocaeans to Corsica, and their adventures there, I. 166, 166; Phocaeans at Naukratis, II. 178; in the Ionian fleet against Darius, VI. 8  
Phocians, their fortification of Thermopylae, VII. 176; contingent with Leonidas, VII. 203; Phocian guard on the path Anopaea, VII. 217, 218; Phocian feud with Thessaly, VIII. 27-30; Phocis overrun by Persians, VIII. 31-33; courage of a Phocian contingent in Mardonius' army, IX. 17; Artabazus' flight to Phocis, VIII. 66 (other ref., not important)  
Phoebus, see Apollo.  
Phoenicians, their abduction of Io, I. 1, 5; Phoenician cult of Aphrodite in Cythera, I. 105; Phoenicians still independent temp. Croesus, I. 143; their temple of Hercules in Thasos, II. 44; abduction of priestesses from Egypt, II. 64; circumcision, II. 104; settlement at Memphis, II. 113; reliance of Persia on Phoenician ships, III. 19; their images, III. 37; tribute to Persia, III. 81; trade between Arabia and Greece, III. 107, 111; circumnavigation of Africa, IV. 42; Phoenician writing in Greece, V. 57, 58, cp. II. 40; ships in Cyprian revolt, V. 108, 112; in Ionian revolt, VI. 8, 14, 25, 28; attack on Hellespontian towns, VI. 33; pursuit of Miltiades, VI. 41; Phoenician mines in Thasos, VI. 47; work at the Athon canal, VII. 23; Phoenician bridge over the Hellespont, VII. 34; excellences of their ships, VII. 44, 96; their original home on the Persian gulf, VIII. 80; Phoenicians' blame of Ionians at Salamis, VIII. 90; disparaged by Artemisia, VIII. 100. Phoenicians of Libya, II. 32, IV. 197; defeat of Greek colonists in Sicily, V. 46; attack on Gelon there, VIII. 165, 167 (other less important ref.)  
Phoenix, a stream near Thermopylae, VII. 176, 200  
Phormus, an Athenian trierarch, his escape from the Persians, VII. 182  
Phraortes, (1) a Median, father of Deioces, I. 96. (2) King of Media, son of Deioces, I. 73; his defeat and death at the hands of the Assyrians, I. 102  
Phratagune, one of Darius' wives, VII. 224  
Phrycean, name of Cyane in Mysia, I. 149  
Phrixae, a town in the west of the Peloponnese, founded by the Minyae, IV. 148  
Phrixus, son of Athamas, the legend of his fate at Abus, VII. 197

## INDEX

Phronime, daughter of Etearchus of Crete, the plot against her life, and her escape, iv. 154, 155

Phrygia, antiquity of the Phrygians proved by Psammetichus, ii. 2; their tribute to Persia, iii. 99; "Royal road" through Phrygia, v. 52; exiled Paeanians settled there, v. 98; Xerxes' route through Phrygia, vii. 26, 30; Phrygians in Xerxes' army, vii. 73; their European origin, i. 4; in Mardonius' army, ix. 32

Phrynon, a Thelian, ix. 16

Phrynicus, the Athenian tragedian, his play "Capture of Miletus" suppressed, vi. 21

Phthiotis, in northern Greece, earliest home of the Dorians, i. 58; its submission to Xerxes, vii. 132

Phthius, a legendary personage, son of Achaeus, ii. 98

Phya, an Athenian woman caused by Pisistratus to impersonate Athene, i. 100

Phylaeus, (1) a Delphian hero, his supposed aid against the Persians, viii. 39. (2) A Samian trierarch on the Persian side at Salamis, viii. 85

Phylis, a district of Thrace, on the Strymon, vii. 113

Pieres, a Thracian tribe, mines in their country, vii. 112; in Xerxes' army, vii. 185

Pieria, a district of Macedonia, on Xerxes' route, vii. 131, 177; pitch from thence, iv. 195

Pigres, (1) brother of Mantyes, g.r., v. 12. (2) A Cretan officer in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 98

Pilarus, a town on the Singitic gulf west of Athens, vii. 122

Pindar, the poet, quoted ("Custom is the lord of all"), iii. 38

Pindus, (1) a Thessalian town, an early home of the Dorians, i. 58, viii. 93. (2) A mountain range on the W. frontier of Thessaly, vii. 129

Piraeus, one of the ports of Athens, at the eastern end of Xerxes' line at the battle of Salamis, viii. 85

Pirete, a spring at Corinth, v. 92

Pirus, a river in Achaea, i. 145

Pisa, a town in Elis, its distance from Athens, ii. 7

Pisistratus, (1) the son of Nestor of Pylos, v. 65. (2) Despot of Athens; his seizure of power, i. 50; expulsion and return, i. 60; second retirement and return, and use of his power, i. 61-64, vii. 35. (Elsewhere as a patronymic.) For the Pisistratidae, see Hippias and Hipparchus, also v. 63-65;

## INDEX

their expulsion from Athens, at Xerxes' court, VII. 6; their attempt to induce Athens to surrender, VIII. 62  
Pistyrus, a town in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, VII. 109  
Pitana, (1) an Aeolian town in Mysia, I. 149, (2) A Spartan township, III. 55; a "Pitanate battalion" in the Lacedaemonian army at Plataea, IX. 53 (see Amompharetus)  
Pithagoras, despot of Selinus, deposed, V. 46  
Pittacus of Mytilene, one of the Seven Sages, his advice to Croesus, I. 27  
Plaxodarus of Cnidus, his advice to the Carians on choice of a battlefield, V. 115  
Phœnia, a town of Pelasgian origin on the Hellespont, I. 57  
Phœnicians (or Phœnæci), burnt by the Persians, VIII. 50; *passim* in IX. in connection with military operations there (16-88). Phœnæcia, their first alliance with Athens, VI. 108; at Marathon, VI. 111, 113; refusal to "medize," VII. 132, VIII. 66; (later) Theban attack on their town, VII. 233; in the Greek fleet, VIII. 1; but not at Salamis, VIII. 44; their envoys to Sparta, IX. 7; in Pausanias' army, IX. 28, 31  
Platen, an island (modern Bomba) off Libya, occupied by the earliest colonists of Cyrene, IV. 151-153, 166, 180  
Pleistarchus, king of Sparta, Pausanias' ward and son of Leonidas, IX. 10  
Pleistomus, a god of the Thracian Apsinthians, sacrifice of a Persian to him, IX. 119  
Plinthine or Plinthine bay, on the coast of Egypt, near (the later) Alexandria, II. 6  
Plymus, a Libyan harbour (modern Gulf of Sollum), near the west of Egypt, IV. 108  
Poeciles, a Phoenician, ancestor of the inhabitants of Thera, IV. 147  
Pugon, the port of Troezen, rendezvous for Greek ships before Salamis, VIII. 42  
Polides, a Spartan, father of Amompharetus, IX. 53  
Polichae, in Chios, a stronghold of Histiaeus, VI. 26  
Polichnites, a people of Crete, VII. 170  
Polyas of Antioch, a messenger between the Greeks at Artemision and Leonidas, VIII. 21  
Polybus, an ancient king of Sicily, V. 67  
Polycrates, despot of Samos, son of Aeaces, his friendship with Amasis, II. 182, III. 39, 40; his successes and alarming good luck, III. 39-43; his war with Lacedaemon, III. 44-46, 54-56;

## INDEX

induced to leave Samos, and murdered by Orctes, III. 120–125  
Polyclitus, (1) an Aeginetan, VI. 50. (2) Grandson of the above, his taunt to Themistocles at Salamis, VIII. 82  
Polydamma, wife of Thon of Egypt, her gifts to Helen mentioned in the *Odyssey*, II. 110  
Polydectes, a king of Sparta, VIII. 131  
Polydorus, (1) son of Cadmus, V. 59. (2) A king of Sparta, VII. 204  
Polymnestus of Thera, father of the first Battus, IV. 150, 155  
Polynices, son of Oedipus of Thebes, IV. 147, VI. 52, IX. 27  
Pontus, see Euxine.  
Porata (or Pyretus), a tributary of the Danube, probably the Pruth, IV. 48  
Poseidon, unknown to the Egyptians, II. 43, 50; the channel of the Peneus his work, VII. 129; his cult at Mycale, I. 148; in Greece, VII. 122, VIII. 55, 123, 129, IX. 81; in Libya, IV. 180, 188; in Scythia (as Thagimassades), IV. 50  
Posidonia (Paestum, in Italy), information given by a man of that place to exiled Phoenicians, I. 107  
Posidoniua, a Spartan distinguished at Platam, IX. 71  
Posideum, (1) a town on the borders of Syria and Cilicia, III. 91. (2) A town in Thrace, VII. 115  
Potidaea, a town in Pallene, VII. 123; besieged by Artabazus but not taken, VIII. 128, 129; Potilaesus in Pausanias' army, IX. 28, 31  
Praessi, a Cretan people, VII. 170  
Prasat lake, in Paonia, description of lake-dwellings there, V. 16  
Prexapes, (1) a Persian, Cambyses' agent, employed by him to murder Smerdis, III. 30, 34, 62–65; his confession and suicide, III. 74, 75. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Aspathines, VII. 97  
Praxilaus, a man of Halicarnassus, IX. 107  
Praxitius, captain of a Troezenian ship captured by the Persians, VII. 180  
Priam of Troy, I. 3; probability of his giving up Helen, II. 120; his citadel, VII. 43  
Priene, an Ionian town in Caria, I. 142; taken by Lydiatus, I. 15; by Persians, I. 161; its ships in the Ionian fleet, VI. 8  
Prinetales, a Spartan, Cleomenes' father-in-law, V. 41  
Prooles, (1) one of the twin brothers whence the dual kingship

## INDEX

at Sparta began, iv. 147, vi. 52, viii. 131. (2) Despot of Epidaurus, father-in-law of Periander of Corinth, iii. 69-72  
Proconnesus, a town on the Propontis, iv. 14; burnt by Phoenicians, vi. 33  
Promeneus, a priestess at Dodona, Herodotus' informant about the connection between Dodona and Egypt, ii. 65  
Prometheus, the legendary fire-stealer, the continent of Asia called after his wife, iv. 46  
Pronaea, title of Athene at Delphi, i. 82, viii. 39  
Propontis, its measurements, iv. 85; Persian operations near it, v. 122  
Protopeltis, an island in the Delta, ii. 41; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, n. 105  
Protesilaus, the first Greek to fall in the Trojan war; his temple at Elaeus desecrated by Arta-Votes, vii. 93, ix. 116, 120  
Protos of Memphis, king of Egypt, ii. 112; his reception of Paris and Helen, n. 115  
Protobyses, a king of Scythia, i. 103  
Prytanis, a Spartan king, viii. 131  
Psammenitus, king of Egypt, son of Amasis, his defeat by Cambyses, iii. 10, 11; his behaviour in Cambyses' presence, iii. 14; his life spared, iii. 15  
Psammetichas, king of Egypt, son of Neochos, his prevention of a Scythian invasion, i. 105; his inquiry into the antiquity of nations, ii. 2; into the depth of the Nile source, ii. 29; his frontier guards, ii. 30; banishment and restoration, ii. 151, 152; buildings at Memphis, and concessions to Greeks there, ii. 153, 154  
Psammis, king of Egypt, son of Neochos, his opinion of the Olympic games, n. 160  
Psylli, a Libyan tribe, their destruction by a sand-storm, iv. 173  
Psychaleon, an islet between Salamis and Attica, Persians posted there to intercept the Greeks in the battle of Salamis, viii. 70; their fate, viii. 93  
Pteria, in Cappadocia (probably modern Eughaz Kouï), taken by Croesus, i. 76  
Ptoleim, a temple of Apollo (hence Apollo Ptoleus), near Thebes in Boeotia, oracle there consulted by Mardonius, viii. 135  
Pylar, synonym for Thermopylae, vii. 201  
Pylaea, place of meeting (vii. 213) of the  
Pylagori (*ib.*), representatives of the "Amphyctionic" league

## INDEX

of twelve states in N.E. Greece; their action in regard to Epialtes, *vii.* 213

Pylus (1) in Messenia, *vii.* 168. (2) In Elis, *ix.* 34. Pylians, descendants of Nestor of Pylus, Pisistratus of that family, *v.* 65; Caucones called Pylians, *i.* 147

Pyrene, according to Herodotus a town of the Celts in western Europe, source of the Danube said to be there, *ii.* 33

Pyretius, see Porata.

Pyrgus, a town in western Greece founded by the Minyae, *iv.* 148

Pythagoras, (1) the philosopher, son of Mnesarchus, Pythagorean and Orphic belief, *ii.* 81; Zalmoxis his slave, *iv.* 95. (2) A Milesian, put in charge of Miletus by Aristagorus, *v.* 126

Pythess, (1) an Aeginetan, son of Ischeneus, his bravery, and attention paid him by the Persians, *vii.* 181; his return to Aegina, *viii.* 92. (2) An Aeginetan (apparently not the same as 1), father of Lampon, *ix.* 78

Pythemiua, a Phocaeans, spokesman at Sparta for Ionians and Aolian envoys, *i.* 152

Pythes, a man of Abdera, *vii.* 137

Pythian priestess, see Delphi.

Pythians, Spartan officials for communication with Delphi, their privileges, *vi.* 57

Pythius, a Lydian, his offer of his wealth to Xerxes, *vii.* 27–29; his request to Xerxes and its consequence, *vii.* 38, 39

Pytho, a synonym for Delphi, *i.* 54

Pythagoreia, brother of the despot of Zancle, his imprisonment by Hippocrates, *vi.* 23

Rampsinitus, king of Egypt, story of the theft of his treasure, *ii.* 121

Rhegium, in southern Italy, *i.* 186, *vi.* 23; its disaster in battle, *vii.* 170

Rhenane, an island near Delos, *vi.* 97

Rhodes, *i.* 174; its part in the Greek settlement at Naucratis, *ii.* 178; Rhodian colonists in Sicily, *vii.* 163

Rhodope, a mountain range in Thrace, source of a tributary of the Danube, *iv.* 40; flight thither of a Bisaltian king, *viii.* 116

Rhodopis, a Thracian courtesan in Egypt, her offerings at Delphi, *ii.* 134, 135

Rhoecus, a Samian, builder of the Heraeum at Samos, *iii.* 60

## INDEX

Bloeteum, a town in the Troad, vii. 43  
Itypes, a town in Achaea, i. 145

Sabaces, king of Ethiopia, his rule of Egypt, ii. 137, 139, 152  
Sabyllus, a man of Gela, his killing of Cleisthenes, vii. 154  
Sacae, a tribe in the N.E. of the Persian empire, vii. 9; Cyrus' designs against them, i. 153; tribute to Persia, iii. 93; at Marathon, vi. 113; in Xerxes' army, vii. 64; as marines in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 184; with Mardonius at Plataea, ix. 31; their cavalry there, ix. 71; Massistes' design for a rebellion of the Sacae, ix. 113  
Sadyattes, king of Lydia, his war with Miletus, i. 18  
Sagartii, a Persian tribe, i. 125; tribute to the empire, iii. 93; in Xerxes' army, vii. 85  
Sais, a town in the Delta, the temple scribe there, ii. 28, ep. ii. 130; worship of "Athene," ii. 59, 62; Apries' palace there, ii. 163; Saitic province, ii. 162; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 165; Amasis' addition to the temple, ii. 175; Cambyses' treatment of Amasis' body at Sais, iii. 16; Saitic mouth of the Nile, ii. 17  
Salamis, (1) Island off Attica, Cyprian colonists from thence, vii. 90; Delphian oracle respecting it, vii. 141; Greek fleet there, viii. 40-47 (many ref. in these chapters to Salamis, in respect of debates there, and the battle itself); return of Greeks to Salamis after cruising in the Aegean, vii. 121; Athenians still at Salamis, ix. 4-6; their return to Attica, ix. 19, (2) A town in Cyprus, flight of Phoenician thither, iv. 162; Salamis in the Cyprian revolt, v. 104, 108; battle near it, v. 110; desertion of Salamitanians to the Persians, v. 113; restoration of the king of Salamis, v. 115  
Sale, a Samothracian fort near Dericus, vii. 59  
Zalmoxis (or Zalmoxis), a teacher of belief in immortality, deified by the Getæ, iv. 94; his possible connection with Pythagoras, iv. 95, 96  
Salmydessus, in Thrace, on the Euxine, its submission to Darius, iv. 93  
Samius, a Spartan, son of Archias, so called in commemoration of his father's honours won in Samos, iii. 55  
Samos, island and town, Samians' alleged theft from Spartans, i. 70; an Ionian settlement, i. 142; temple of Hera there, ii. 148, 182, iii. 80; Samian share in the settlement at Naucratis, ii. 178; Polycrates' despotism in Samos, iii. 39, 40

## INDEX

Lacedaemonian attack on Samos, III. 44–46, 54–59; Samian aqueduct, III. 60; fate of Polyxenes, III. 120–123; conquest of Samos by Persians, III. 142–149; Salmoxis at Samos, IV. 95; flight of Aeginaean thither, IV. 162; Samian bravery against the Persians in the Cyprian revolt, V. 112; desertion to the Persians of all except eleven of the sixty Samian ships in the Ionian revolt, VI. 8, 14; Samian colonists in Sicily, VI. 22–25; distinction at Salamis of Samians in the Persian fleet, VIII. 85; vague Greek ideas about the distance of Samos, VIII. 132; Samian envoys to Greeks before Mycale, IX. 90–92; disloyalty of Samians to Persia, IX. 99–103; reception into the Greek confederacy, IX. 103 (other ref. less important)

Samothrace, an island south of Thrace, VI. 47; its Pelasgian inhabitants, II. 61; exploit of a Samothracian ship at Salamis, VII. 99; Samothracian forts on the mainland, VII. 69, 108

Sennacherib, king of Assyria, his invasion of Egypt and the destruction of his army, II. 141

Sandalis, a Lydian, his advice to Croesus not to make war on Persia, I. 71

Sandaces, a Persian, his punishment and release by Darius, and subsequent capture by the Greeks, VII. 194

Sane, a town on the isthmus of the peninsula of Athos, VII. 22, 123

Sapni, a Thracian tribe, on Xerxes' route, VII. 110

Sappho, the poetess, her satire on her brother Charaxus, II. 135

Satangae, a people of northern Persia, their tribute, III. 93; in Xerxes' army, VII. 67

Sartianspallus, king of Nigra, the theft of his treasures, II. 159

Sardis, Croesus' capital of Lydia, its king, I. 7; its capture by Cimmerians, I. 15; Lacedaemonian envoys there, I. 69; Sardis besieged by Cyrus, I. 80; taken, I. 84; Cyrus at Sardis, I. 141; town attacked by Lydian rebels, I. 154; road from Sardis to Smyrna, II. 106; Cadydia nearly as large as Sardis, III. 5; Oroetes at Sardis, III. 120–128; Axial tribe there, IV. 45; Darius there, V. 11; seat of Persian governor, V. 31, 73, 90, VI. 1; distance from Sardis to Susa, V. 63; Sardis attacked and burnt by Ionians and Athenians, V. 103–102; Histiaeus there, VI. 1; disaffection of Persians at Sardis, VI. 4; Alemeon there, VI. 125; Xerxes and his army at Sardis, VII. 32, 37; portent seen there, VII. 57; Pharnuches' misfortune there, VII. 88; Xerxes' return thither, VIII. 117, IX. 3; Persians' flight to Sardis after Mycale, IX. 107; Xerxes' arrival there, IX. 108 (other ref. not important)

## INDEX

Sardo (Sardinia), designs of the Ionians to migrate thither, i. 170, v. 124; Histaeus' project to conquer it for Xerxes, v. 106; Sardinians among the invaders of Sicily, against Gelon, viii. 165

Sarpedon, Minos' brother, his banishment by Minos and his rule in Lycia, i. 173

Sarpedonia, a headland in Thrace, vii. 58

Sarte, a town on the Singitic gulf W. of Athens, vii. 122

Saspines, a people between Colchis and Media, i. 104, 110, iv. 37, 40; their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 79

Sataspes, a Persian, his attempt to circumnavigate Africa, iv. 43

Satrai, a Thracian tribe, their mines and places of divination, vii. 110-112

Sattagyidae, a people in the Persian empire, perhaps in Afghanistan, their tribute, iii. 91

Saulius, a Scythian king, Anacharsis killed by him, iv. 70

Sauromatae, a people immediately E. of the Palus Maeotis, iv. 21, 67; their conflict and reconciliation with the Amazons, iv. 110-117; their part in the campaign against Darius, iv. 122, 128, 130

Scaeus, a Theban, his dedication of a tripod, v. 60

Scamander, a river in the Troad, v. 66; on Xerxes' route, vii. 43

Scamandronymus, a Mytilenean, ii. 135

Scapte Hyle, in Thrace opposite Thasos, gold-mines there, vi. 46

Sciathus, an island off Magnesia, naval operations there, vii. 176, 179, 182, viii. 7

Seldrus, a town on the W. coast of Italy, a place of refuge for the exiled Sybarites, vi. 21

Seione, a town on the promontory of Pallene, vii. 123; in the local confederacy, viii. 128

Sciras, a title of Athene in Salamis, her temple there, viii. 94

Scirnoid road, along the isthmus of Corinth, destroyed by the Greeks, viii. 71

Seiton, servant of the physician Democedes, iii. 130

Senlepolis, a place near Mycale, ix. 97

Scouliff, ancient name of Scythians, iv. 6

Sculus, near Thebes in Boeotia, ix. 15

Scopadæ, a Thessalian family, vi. 127

Scopazis, a leader in the Scythian army against Darius, iv. 120, 128

Seyince, a town on the Hellespont, its Pelasgian origin, i. 87

## INDEX

Seylax, (1) a man of Caryanda, his navigation of the Indus and the eastern seas, iv. 44. (2) A man of Myndus, his maltreatment by Megabates, v. 33.

Seylos, a king of Scythia, his adoption of Greek customs and his consequent fate, iv. 78-80.

Seyllias of Scione, his exploits as a diver, viii. 8.

Seyros, an island in the Aegean E. of Euboea, vii. 181.

Seythes, (1) son of Hercules and reputed ancestor of all Scythian kings, iv. 10. (2) Despot of Zanele, his imprisonment by Hippocrates, vi. 23, 24, vii. 163.

Seythians, their expulsion of Cimmerians, i. 16; quarrel with Cyaxares, i. 73; invasion of Media and conquest of "Asia," i. 103-106; Scythians subdued by Sesostris, ii. 103, 110; contempt of peaceful occupations in Scythia, ii. 167; alliance against Persia proposed to Sparta by Scythians, vi. 24; Scythians called Sacae by Persians, vii. 64. Book iv. 1-142 (relating almost wholly to Scythia and adjacent regions); iv. 1-4, Scythians' invasion of Media and troubles after their return; 5-10, early Scythian legends; 11-12, their expulsion of Cimmerians; 16-31, 46, 47, general description of Scythia and inhabitants (nomad, farming, and "royal" Scythian), and regions adjacent; 48-58, rivers of Scythia; 59-70, manners and customs; 71-80, Scythian dislike of foreign manners; 81, size of population; 99-100, geography of Scythia and description of adjacent tribes; 118-142, Scythian warfare against Darius.

Sebennytic province of Egypt, in the Delta, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 160; Sebennytus or central mouth of the Nile, ii. 17, 155.

Sellinus, a town in Sicily, its occupation by one of Doricus' followers, v. 48.

Selymbria, a Greek town near the Hellespont, vi. 23.

Semele, daughter of Cadmus and mother of Dionysus, ii. 145.

Semiramis, queen of Babylon, her embankment of the Euphrates, i. 184; gate of Babylon called after her, iii. 156.

Sepos, near Thryns in Argolis, scene of a battle between Lacedaemonians and Argives, vi. 77.

Sepias prominent, in Magnesia, Xerxes' fleet there, vii. 183; wreck of many of his ships, vii. 188-190.

Serbonian marsh, on the eastern frontier of Egypt, ii. 6, iii. 5.

Seriphos, one of the Cyclades islands, Seriphians in the Greek fleet, viii. 46, 48.

## INDEX

Sermyle, a town on the Sithonian promontory in Chalcidice, *vii.* 122

Serrheum, a promontory in Thrace near Doriscus, *vii.* 59

Setostris, king of Egypt, his conquests, *ii.* 102–104; his monuments, *ii.* 106; his life attempted by his brother, *ii.* 107; canals made by him, *ii.* 137

Sestus, in the Thracian Chersonese, on the Hellespont, Darius' crossing there, *iv.* 143; Xerxes' bridge near it, *vii.* 33; siege and capture of Sestus by the Greeks, *ix.* 114–116, 119

Setbos, king of Egypt, his deliverance from Sanacharibos' army, *ii.* 141

Sicania, old name of Sicily, *vii.* 170

Sicas, a Lycian, *vii.* 98

Sicily, Ariot's design to visit it, *i.* 24; Doricus in Sicily, *v.* 43–48; retirement thither of Dionysius of Phocaea, *vi.* 17; Samian exiles there, *vi.* 22–24; growth of Gelon's power, *vii.* 153–156; Carthaginian attack on Sicily defeated by Gelon, *vii.* 185–188

Sicinnus, Themistocles' servant, his mission to the Persians before the battle of Salamis, *viii.* 75; to Xerxes after Salamis, *viii.* 110

Sicyon, W. of Corinth, *l.* 145; Cleisthenes' despotism there, *v.* 67, 68; quarrel between Sicyon and Argos, *vi.* 82; Sicyonians in the Greek fleet, *viii.* 1, 43; in the force at the Isthmus, *viii.* 72; in Pausanias' army, *ix.* 23; their losses at Mycale, *x.* 100

Sidon, Paris and Helen there, *ii.* 116; Sidon attacked by Apries, *ii.* 101; Democedes' voyage from Sidon, *ii.* 136; speed of Sidonian ships, *vii.* 44; in Xerxes' fleet, *vii.* 66, 90; Xerxes' Sidonian ship, *vii.* 106, 128; place of honour of Sidonian king in Xerxes' council, *viii.* 67

Sigaeus, a town in the Troad, *iv.* 38; taken by Pisistratus, *v.* 94; retreat of the Pisistratidae thither, *v.* 85, 91, 94

Sigynnae, a people north of the Danube, *v.* 9; other meanings of the word, *16*.

Silenus, a wood-deity, his alleged capture in the "garden of Midas" in Macedonia, *viii.* 138; Marsyas called Silenus, *vii.* 26

Simonides of Ceos, the poet, his praise of Evaleides, *v.* 102; his epitaphs for those fallen at Thermopylae, *vii.* 225

Sindi, a people to the east of the Cimmerian Bosporus, *iv.* 28; at the broadest part of the Euxine, *iv.* 86

## INDEX

Sindus, a town on the Thermaic gulf, on Xerxes' route, VII. 123

Singus, a town on the Singitic gulf west of Athos, VII. 122

Sinope, Greek town in Paphlagonia, on the S. coast of the Euxine, I. 76; distance from the Cilician coast, II. 34; on the site of a Cimmerian settlement, IV. 12

Siphnos, one of the Cyclades, its prosperity, III. 57; Samian raid upon it, *ib.*; Siphnian ships in the Greek fleet, VIII. 46, 48

Siroopaeces, a Paonian tribe, carried off to Asia by the Persians, V. 15

Siria, (1) a town in Paonia, disabled Persians left there by Xerxes, VIII. 115. (2) A town in Italy, between Sybaris and Tarentum, threat of Athenians to emigrate thither, VIII. 62

Siramitres, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 68, 70

Sitomus, (1) a man of Salamis in Cyprus, V. 104. (2) A Tyrian, VII. 98

Sisamnes, (1) a Persian judge flayed by Cambyses for injustice, V. 25. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 66

Sisimaces, a Persian general in the Ionic revolt, his death in battle, V. 121

Sitalces, king of Thrace, his bargain with the Scythians, IV. 80; his betrayal of Spartan envoys, VII. 137

Sithonia, the central peninsula of Chalcidice, VII. 122

Sisup, in Egypt, the native town of Amasis, II. 172

Smerdis, (1) son of Cyrus, Cambyses' dream about him, III. 30; his murder, *ib.*; his daughter married to Darius, III. 82. (All other mentions in Book III refer to Smerdis' murder and his impersonation by his namesake.) (2) A Magian, his impersonation of Cyrus' son Smerdis and usurpation, III. 61; popularity of his government of Persia, III. 67; discovery of the truth, III. 69; his death at the hands of the seven conspirators, III. 73, 79

Smerdomenes, a Persian, son of Otanes, one of the generals of Xerxes' army, VII. 82, 121

Smilla, a town on the Thermaic gulf, VII. 123

Smindyrides of Sybaris, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, VI. 127

Smyrna, in Lydia, attacked by Gyges, I. 14; taken by Alyattes, I. 16; its transference from Aeolians to Ionians, I. 140, 150; road from Sardis to Smyrna, II. 106

Soecles, a Corinthian envoy, his story of Corinthian despotism, V. 92

## INDEX

Sogdi, a people in the Persian empire, E. of the Oxus, their tribute, III. 08; in Xerxes' army, VII. 66  
Soli, a town in Cyprus, its part in the Cyprian revolt, V. 110; siege and capture by the Persians, V. 115  
Solofa, a promontory at the western extremity of Libya (perhaps Cape Spartel), II. 32, IV. 43  
Solon, his Athenian legislation, I. 29, II. 177; his visit to Croesus, I. 29-33; his praise of a Cyprian ruler, V. 113  
Solymi, inhabitants of what was later Lycaia, I. 173  
Sophanes, an Athenian, his exploits in Aegina, VI. 92, IX. 76; at Plataea, IX. 74  
Sosimenes, a man of Tenos, VIII. 52  
Sostratus, an Aeginetan, his commercial success, IV. 152  
Space, Cyrus' Median foster-mother, I. 110  
Spargapises, son of Tomyris queen of the Massagetae, his capture by Cyrus and his suicide, I. 211-213  
Spangaphites, (1) king of the Agathyrsi, his murder of a Scythian king, IV. 78. (2) A king of Scythia, IV. 76.  
Sparta, see Lacedaemon  
Sperchous, a river in Malia, near Thermopylae, VII. 198, 228  
Sperthias, one of the two Spartans who volunteered to surrender themselves to Xerxes as atonement for the killing of Persian heralds, VII. 134  
Sphendalae, a deme in northern Attica, on Mardonius' route into Boeotia, IX. 15  
Stagirae, a Greek town in Chalcidice, on Xerxes' route, VII. 115  
Stentorid lake, in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, VII. 59  
Stenyclorus, in Messenia, scene of a battle between Spartans and Messenians, IX. 64  
Stesangorus, (1) grandfather of Miltiades the younger, VI. 34, 103. (2) Grandson of (1), VI. 103; his murder, VI. 38  
Stesenor, despot of Curium in Cyprus, his desertion to the Persians in the Cyprian revolt, V. 113  
Stesilaus, an Athenian general killed at Marathon, VI. 114  
Stratopeda (Camps), places on the Nile allotted by Pausanias to Ionians and Carians, II. 154  
Strattis, despot of Chios, with Darius' Scythian expedition, IV. 138; Ionian plot against him, VIII. 132  
Struthates, a Median tribe, I. 103  
Stryme, a Thasian town in Thrace, VII. 108  
Strymon, a river in Macedonia, Pisistratus' revenues thence, I. 64; Paeonians from the Strymon, V. 98; Xerxes' bridge over it,

## INDEX

VII. 24; Bithynians of Asia originally Strymonians, VII. 75; Persian defence of Elion on the Strymon, VII. 107; sacrifice offered to the river by the Magi, VII. 119; Strymonian or north wind, Xerxes' danger from it, VIII. 118 (a few other unimportant refl.)

Symphalian lake, alleged subterranean channel from it to Argos, VI. 76

Styrene, from Styra In S.W. Euboea, VI. 107; in the Greek fleet, VIII. I, 46; in Pausanias' army, IX. 28, 31

Styx, the water of, a mountain stream in Arcadia, supposed to communicate with the world of the dead; oath there administered by Cleomenes, VI. 74

Sunium, the southern promontory of Attica, IV. 99; Athenian festival there, VI. 87; settlement of banished Aeginetans on Sunium, VI. 90; rounding of Sunium by Datis after Marathon, VI. 115; Greek trophy set up there, VIII. 121

Susa, the capital of the Persian kings, on the Chooaspe, I. 188, V. 49; Smendis murdered there, III. 30; revolt against the Magi there, III. 70 *et seqq.*; Histiaeus at Susa, V. 30; end of the Royal road, V. 62; called the Monnomon, V. 54, VII. 151; Milesian captives brought thither, VI. 20; Demaratus and the Pisistratidae at Susa, VII. 3, 6; Spartans there, VII. 136; reception there of Xerxes' despatches from Greece, VIII. 99; Xerxes' amours at Susa, IX. 108 (other unimportant refl. to Susa as the royal residence)

Syagrus, Spartan envoy to Sicily, VII. 153; his reply to Gelon, VII. 159

Sybaria, in southern Italy, attacked by Dorieus, V. 44; its capture by the Crotoniates, VI. 21; its former prosperity, VI. 127

Syene (Assuan), alleged to be near the source of the Nile, opposite Elephantine, II. 29

Syennesis, (1) king of Cilicia, his reconciliation of Medians and Lydians, I. 74; his daughter, V. 118. (2) A Cilician officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 98

Sylean plain in Thrace, near Stagirus, on Xerxes' route, VII. 115

Sylodon, banished by his brother Polyterates from Samos, III. 39; his gift to Darius and its reward, III. 130-141; his restoration to the government of Samos, III. 144-149. (Elsewhere a patronymic.)

Syme, an island near Rhodes, I. 174

## INDEX

Syracuse, its despots comparable for splendour to Polyorketes, III. 125; its seizure by Gelon, and growth under his rule, VII. 154-156; Greek envoys there, VII. 157; Amilcas of Carthage partly a Syracusean, VII. 168  
Syrgis, see Hyrgus  
Syria, its geography, II. 12, 116; many rivers there, II. 20; Syrian desert, III. 6; see also Palestine; Syrians' defeat by Egyptians, II. 159; their tribute to Persia, III. 91; Syrians of Cappadocia, I. 6; Cappadocians called Syrians by Greeks, I. 72, V. 49; invaded by Croesus, I. 76; their tribute to Persia, III. 90; in Xerxes' army, VII. 72  
Syrtis, the bay of the Libyan coast W. of Cyrene, alleged canal between it and Lake of Moeris, II. 150; silphium produced near it, IV. 169; inhabitants of its coast, II. 32, IV. 173  
Tabalus, made governor of Sardis by Cyrus, I. 153; rising of Lydians against him, I. 154  
Tabiti, a Scythian deity identified with the Greek Hestia, IV. 59  
Tachomopeo, an alleged island in the Nile between Elephantine and Meroë, II. 29  
Taenarum, southern promontory of Laconia, Arion's arrival there on a dolphin, I. 24; Coreytorean ships' delay there, VII. 168  
Talaüs, an Argive, father of Adrastus, V. 87  
Talthybius, the Greek herald in the Iliad, his supposed vengeance of the death of heralds, VII. 134, 137  
Tamyneae, a town in Euboea, its occupation by Datis, VI. 101  
Tanagra, a town in Boeotia, its lands occupied by Cadmus, followers, V. 57; Mariandrus there, IX. 15; scene of a battle (later) between the Spartans and the Athenians and Argives, IX. 35; near the river Thermonotus, IX. 43  
Tanais, a Scythian river (the Don), between Scythians and Sauromatae, IV. 21; its source and mouth, IV. 57, 100; crossed by Amazons and Sauromatae, IV. 116  
Tanite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, II. 166  
Taras (Tarentum), Arion's departure thence, I. 24; Tarentines' services to Democedes, III. 136; their refusal to admit a banished man, III. 138, IV. 89; Tarentines' losses in a battle with their neighbours, VII. 170  
Targitaus, by legend the earliest Scythian, son of Zeus and Borysthenes, IV. 5; a thousand years before Darius' invasion, IV. 7

## INDEX

Taricheae (salting-places), near the Canopic mouth of the Nile, Paris' landing there, II. 113  
Tartessus, at the mouth of the Baetis (Guadalquivir), friendship of Phoenicians with its king, I. 103; Samians' voyage thither, IV. 152; Tartessian vessels, IV. 102  
Tauchira, a town in Libya near Barca, IV. 171  
Tauri, a Scythian people, in the Tauric Chersonese W. of the Palus Maeotis, their country described, IV. 29–101; their part in the campaign against Darius, IV. 102–110  
Taxacik, a leader in the Scythian armies against Darius, IV. 120  
Taygetus, the mountain range E. of Laconia, its occupation by the Minyæ, IV. 145, 146  
Tearus, a Thracian river, its water praised by Darius, IV. 80–90  
Teaspis, a Persian, IV. 43, VII. 79, IX. 76  
Tegea, a town in Arcadia, varying event of its wars with Sparta, I. 66–68; Leutychides' death there, VI. 72; Phidippides' vision near Tegea, VI. 105; Tegens at Thermopylae, VII. 202; Tegoun's claim to the post of honour in Pausanias' army, IX. 26–28; (later) victory of Spartans over Tegea and Argos, IX. 35; Tegren's labour at Plataea, IX. 56, 60, 61, 62, 70  
Tetipes, two of this name in the list of Xerxes' forefathers, VII. 11 (see How and Wells, Appendix IV. 3)  
Telamon, one of the legendary heroes of Salamis, his aid invoked by the Greeks, VIII. 64  
Teleboæ, an Acaeanian people, Amphitryon's defeat of them, V. 59  
Telecles, a Samian, III. 41  
Teleclitus, a Spartan king, VII. 204  
Telomachus, son of Nestor, Menelaus' narrative to him, II. 116  
Telestæthus of Samos, his opposition to Maenandrius, III. 143  
Teline, his priesthood at Gela in Sicily, VII. 153  
Telladius, a family or clan of diviners in Elis, one of them with Marionius, IX. 37  
Tellus of Elis (perhaps of the above family), his device for a Phœcian night attack on Thessalians, VIII. 27  
Tellus, an Athenian, Solon's judgment of his happiness, I. 30  
Tehmesians, probably in Lycia, their prophetic answers, I. 78, 84  
Tela, an island near Rhodes, home of Teline, VII. 153  
Telys, despot of Sybaris, V. 44  
Temenus, ancestor of the Temenid family of Macedonian kings, VIII. 137

## INDEX

Tenedos, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, I. 149  
Tempe, the valley of the Peneus in Thessaly, between Olympus and Ossa, VII. 173  
Tenedos, an island off the Troad, an Aeolian town there, I. 151; Tenedos taken by Persians in the Ionian revolt, vi. 31  
Tenos, one of the Cyclades, a stage on the Hyperboreans' route to Delos, IV. 33; flight of Delians thither, VI. 97; desertion of a Tenian ship to the Greeks at Salamis, VIII. 82  
Teos, an Ionian town in Lydia, I. 142; flight of Teians to Thrace, I. 168; Teos proposed as a meeting-place for Ionians, I. 170; its share in the Greek settlement at Naucratis, II. 178; Teian ships in the Ionian fleet, VI. 8  
Teres, father of Sitalces, king of Thrace, IV. 80, VII. 137  
Terillus, despot of Himera, his confederacy against Gelon, VII. 165  
Termessus, on the coast near Halicarnassus, its despot captured by the Ionian rebels, V. 37  
Tamilae, an alternative name for the Lycians, I. 173  
Tethronium, a Phocian town, burnt by the Persians, VIII. 43  
Tetramnustus, a Sibonian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 98  
Teuerians (Trojans), their denial of the possession of Helen, II. 118; Paeonians, V. 13, and Gergithes, V. 122, descended from them; Teuerian invasion of Europe before the Trojan war, VII. 20, 75  
Tenthrena, at the mouth of the Calesus in Mysia, siting up of a river bed there, II. 10  
Thagimasadas (or Thammasadas), a Scythian deity identified with Poseidon, IV. 50  
Thales of Miletus, his prediction of an eclipse, I. 74; his diversion of the course of the Italys, I. 76; his advice as to a meeting-place for Ionians, I. 170  
Thammaroi, a people probably in N.E. Persia, III. 117; their tribute, III. 93  
Thamus, a Persian, father of Sandoceas, VII. 194  
Thamyras, a Libyan, restored by the Persians to the government which his father Inarus had lost by rebellion, III. 15  
Thasos, (1) off Thrace, Phoenician temple of Heracles there, II. 44; on Mardonius' route to Euboea, VI. 44; Thasians' revenues from mines, VI. 46; their expenditure on feeding Xerxes' army, VII. 118. (2) A Phoenician, said to have given the island its name, VI. 47  
Theasides, a Spartan, his warning to the Aeginetans, VI. 85

## INDEX

Thebe, (1) legendary daughter of Asopus and sister of Aegina, v. 80. (2) A plain in Mysia, on Xerxes' route, vii. 42  
Thebes, (1) in Upper Egypt (modern Luxor), a custom of the temple there, i. 182; Herodotus' inquiries at Thebes, ii. 3; distance from Heliopolis, ii. 9; Thebes once called Egypt, ii. 15; rules of abstinence there, ii. 42; alleged connection between the temple at Thebes and Dodona, ii. 54-56; crocodiles held sacred there, ii. 69; sacred snakes, ii. 74; Hecataeus' investigations at Thebes, ii. 143; single instance of rain at Thesbes, iii. 10; Cambyses there, iii. 25; distance from Thebes of the temple of Ammon, iv. 143; Theban province, Syria and Chemmis in it, ii. 28, 91; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 160. (2) In Boeotia, temple of Apollo there, i. 62; Croesus' gifts there, i. 92; Theban assistance to Pisistratus, i. 61; Phoenician inscriptions at Thebes, v. 59; Theban feud with Athens, v. 70, 81-80, vi. 108; Theban recovery of an image of Apollo, vi. 118; submission to Xerxes, vii. 132; Thebans unwillingly at Thermopylae, vii. 205; Thebans and oracles of Amphiaraus, viii. 134; Theban alliance to Mardonius, ix. 2; Mardonius in Theban territory, ix. 15; story of Polynices' attack on Thebes, ix. 27; proposed retreat of Persians to Thebes, ix. 58; Theban valour on Persian side, ix. 67; surrender of Thebes to Greek army, ix. 86-88  
Themis, a deity in Greece but not in Egypt, ii. 50  
Thessaly, on the S. coast of the Euxine, breadth of the sea measured thence, iv. 86  
Themistion, a Thracian traitor, his bargain with Etearchus of Crete, iv. 154  
Themistocles, his interpretation of the Delphic oracle given to Athens, vii. 143; his creation of the Athenian navy, vii. 144; in command of a force in Thessaly, vii. 173; bribery of Greeks to stay at Artemisium, viii. 4; his efforts to detach Ionians from Xerxes, viii. 19, 22; advice to Greeks to stay at Salamis, viii. 56-63; secret message to Persians, viii. 75; interview with Aristides, viii. 79, 80; exhortation before Salamis, viii. 89; meeting with Polyorkites of Aegina, viii. 92; his policy after Salamis, secret message to Xerxes, and extortion of money from islanders, viii. 108-112; honours paid him by Greeks after Salamis, viii. 123-125  
Theocycles, an Athenian, viii. 65  
Theodorus, a Samian artist, his work at Delphi, i. 51; for Poly-  
crates, iii. 41

## INDEX

Theometer of Samos, his services to the Persians at Salamis, VIII. 85; despot of Samos, IX. 60  
Theophania, a festival at Delphi, I. 51  
Theopompus, a Spartan king, VIII. 131  
Thera, one of the Cyclades, once called Calliste, IV. 147; its original settlement, *ib.*; reason of its sending a colony to Libya, IV. 151; story of Battus of Thera, IV. 155; Therans with Dorians in Libya, V. 42  
Therambos, a town in Pallene, VII. 123  
Therapne, near Sparta, a temple of Helen there, VI. 61  
Therses, a Cadmean of Sparta, his colonisation of Thera, IV. 147, 148  
Thermoden, (1) a river in Boeotia, near Tanagra, IX. 43. (2) A river in Cappadocia, II. 104; near Thermiscyra, IV. 86; victory on it of Greeks over Amazons, IV. 110, IX. 27  
Thermopylae, description of the pass, VII. 170, 198-200; story of the battle, VII. 210-225; visit of Persian forces to the field of Thermopylae, IX. 24, 25 (other mentions in VII. and IX. refer to the battle)  
Theron, despot of Acragas, his expulsion of Terillus from Himera, VII. 165; victory with Gelon over Carthaginian confederacy, VII. 166  
Thersandrus, (1) son of Polynices, ancestor of Therses, IV. 147, VI. 52. (2) A man of Orchomenus, his presence at a Persian banquet at Thebes, IX. 16  
Theseus, his abduction of Helen into Attica, IX. 73  
Theostrophoria, a Greek festival in honour of Demeter, in Attica in the autumn, II. 171; its celebration by Ephesian women, VI. 16  
Thespia, a town in Boeotia, burnt by the Persians, VIII. 60; Thespian allies of Thebans, V. 79; their refusal to submit to Xerxes, VII. 132; their steadfastness at Thermopylae, VII. 202, 222, 226; Scironus made a Thespian, VIII. 75; Thespians in Pausanias' army, IX. 30  
Thesprotians, in N.W. Greece, neighbours of the Ambraciots, VII. 47; their practice of necromancy, V. 92; Thessalians from Thesprotia, VII. 176  
Thessaly, Pelasgians formerly there, I. 57; Darius' European tribute from nations east of it, III. 98, VII. 108; Thessalian allies of Pisistratos, V. 63; Lacedaemonian invasion of Thessaly, VI. 72; Alcetas of Thessaly at Xerxes' court, VII. 6; description of Thessaly, VII. 129; its submission to Xerxes,

## INDEX

VII. 132; Greek force there, VII. 172, 173; danger to Phocis from Thessalians, VII. 191, 215; Xerxes' march through it, VII. 190; Thessalian cavalry inferior to Asiatic, *ib.*; defeat of Thessalians by Phocians, and Thessalian revenge, VIII. 27-32; Mardonius in Thessaly, VIII. 113, 133; Thessalians in his army, IX. 31; Artabazus in Thessaly, IX. 59 (other less important ross.)

Thessalus, a Spartan companion of Dorieus, V. 43

Thesate, a spring in Libya, defeat there of Egyptians by Cyrenacans, IV. 159

Thetis, Magian sacrifice to her to abate a storm, VII. 191

Thesuite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, II. 166

Thous, king of Lemnos, killed by women, VI. 138

Thou, of Egypt, referred to in the *Odyssey*, II. 116

Thonis, warden of the Nile mouth, his reception of Paris, II. 113

Thormax, an Aleuad of Larissa, his support of Mardonius, IX. 1; Mardonius' address to him, IX. 58

Thoricus, a deme of Attica, near Sunium, IV. 93

Thormax, a mountain in Laconia, Apollo's temple there, I. 69

Thrace, Phoenician migration thither, I. 168; conquest by Sesostrius, II. 103; Thracian contempt of peaceful occupations, II. 167; Thracian rivers, IV. 49; use of hemp there, IV. 74; Darius in Thrace, IV. 89-93; population and customs of Thrace, V. 3-8; Histaeus there, V. 23; Aristagoras killed by Thracians, V. 126; their attack on Mardonius, VI. 45; Thrace conquered by Mysians and Teucrians, VII. 20; Persian supremacy, VII. 100; Xerxes' route through Thrace, VII. 110; reverence of Thracians for road of Xerxes' army, VII. 115; Thracians in his army, VII. 185; Thracian theft of Xerxes' chariot, VIII. 115; Artabazus' retreat harassed by Thracians, IX. 89; human sacrifice there, IX. 110

Thracians of Asia (Bithynians), their conquest by Croesus, I. 28; tribute to Persia, III. 90; in Xerxes' army, VII. 75; their former migration from Thrace into Asia, *ib.*

Thrasylmus, despot of Miletus, his deception of Alyattes, I. 20-23; advice to Periander of Corinth, V. 92

Thrasycles, a Samian, IX. 90

Thrasydeins, an Aleuad of Larissa, Mardonius' address to him, IX. 58

Thrasylaus, an Athenian, VI. 114

Thriasian plain, near Eleusis in Attica, Diogenes' vision there,

## INDEX

VIII, 65; recommended as a battle-field by the Athenians, IX, 7

Thyia, legendary daughter of Cepheus, altar of the winds erected in her precinct (also called Thyia) at Delphi, VII, 178

Thyni, named with Bithyni as "Thracians" in Asia, I, 28

Thyreae, a town taken from the Argives by the Lacedaemonians, I, 82; Cleomenes and his army there, VI, 76

Thyeagetae, a people N.E. of Scythia, living by hunting, IV, 22, 123

Thysus, a town in the peninsula of Athos, VII, 22

Tiarantus, a northern tributary of the Danube, IV, 49

Tibareni, a people on the S. coast of the Euxine, their tribute to Persia, III, 94; in Xerxes' army, VII, 78

Tibisis, a southern tributary of the Danube, IV, 49

Tigranes, son of Artabanes, an officer in Xerxes' army, VII, 62; his dictum about the Olympian games, VIII, 26 (unless "Tritantaechnes" be the right reading); his personal beauty, IX, 96; his death at Mycale, IX, 102

Tigris, the river, I, 189; junction with the Euphrates by a canal, I, 193; Ninus on it, II, 150; v. 62; Ampe on it, VI, 20

Timagenides, a Theban, his advice to Mardonius, IX, 38; his surrender and execution, IX, 56

Timagoras, a Cyprian, VII, 98

Timandrus, a Theban, IX, 60

Timarete, a priestess at Delos, II, 65

Timasithes, a Delphino ally of Imgoras at Athens, his reputation as a fighter, V, 72

Timesius of Clazomenae, his settlement at Abdera, I, 168

Timo, a priestess at Paros, her attempted betrayal of a temple to Miltiades, and subsequent acquittal, VI, 134, 136

Timodemus of Aphidnae, his attack on Themistocles, VIII, 125

Timon, a Delphian, his advice to the Athenians about an oracle, VII, 141

Timonax, a Cyprian officer in Xerxes' army, VII, 98

Timoxenus of Scione, his attempted betrayal of Potidaea, VIII, 128

Tiryne, in Argolis, a battle near it between Argos and Sparta, VI, 77; occupied by the Argives' slaves, VI, 53; Tiryntians in Pausanias' army, IX, 28, 31

Tisamenus, (1) an Elean diviner in the service of the Spartans, his five victories, IX, 33-35. (2) A Theban, grandson of Polynices, IV, 147, VI, 62

## INDEX

Tisanderus, (1) an Athenian, father of Isagoras, v. 63. (2) An Athenian, father of Hippoclides, vi. 127

Tisias, a Pariene, vi. 133

Trijous, a legendary Athenian, his betrayal of Aphidnae, ix. 73

Tithraeus, a cavalry officer in Xerxes' army, viii. 88

Tiborea, a peak of Parnassus, retreat of Dolphians thither, viii. 32

Titorius, an Aetolian, his strength and solitary habits, vi. 127

Tmolus, a gold-producing mountain in Lydia, near Sardis, t. 84, 93, v. 100

Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, her proposal to the invading Persians, i. 205, 206; her victory over Cyrus and revenge for her son, l. 212-214

Torone, a town in Chalcidice, on the Sithonian peninsula, vii. 22, 122

Trachis, the coastal region closed to the E. by Thermopylae, several unimportant reff. to it, vii. 175-226; its town of the same name, vii. 199; Xerxes' passage from Trachis into Doris, viii. 31

Tralles (later Trebizond), a town on the S.E. coast of the Euxine, vi. 127

Trasphen, a Scythian tribe, iv. 6

Traxi, a Thracian tribe, v. 3

Travus, a river in Thrace flowing into the Bistonian lake, vii. 109

Triballic plain (in modern Serbia), iv. 40

Triopian promontory, S.W. point of Asia Minor, i. 174, iv. 37; temple of Apollo there, l. 44

Tritaea, a town in Achaea, l. 146

Tritantaechmes, (1) a Persian, son of Artabazus, his governorship of Assyria, i. 102. (2) A Persian, one of the generals of Xerxes' army, vii. 82, 121

Triteae, a Phocian town burnt by the Persians, viii. 33

Triton, (1) a deity of the sea, his guidance of Jason, iv. 170; his cult in Libya, iv. 188. (2) An alleged river in Libya, flowing into the "Tritonid lake," iv. 178; the lake itself, ib., and iv. 186 (neither river nor lake is identified)

Troezen, in Argolis, entrusted with the island of Hydrea, iii. 59; mother-city of Halicarnassus, vii. 90; its contingent in the Greek fleet, viii. 1, 43; in the force at the Isthmus, viii. 72; in Pausanias' army, ix. 28, 31; Troezenians in the battle of Mycale, ix. 102, 105

## INDEX

Troglodytes (cave-dwellers), an Ethiopian tribe, their habits, iv. 183

Trophonius, a Boeotian god or hero, his oracular shrine consulted by Croesus, i. 46; by Mardonius, viii. 134

Troy and the Troad, v. 26, 122, vii. 43; Trojan war, ii. 120, 145, vii. 20, 171, ix. 27; settlements of dispersed Trojans, iv. 191, v. 13, vii. 91

Tydeus, father of Diomedes, his slaying by Melanippus, v. 67

Tynnes, (1) vice-gardent of Ariapithes king of Scythia, his story of Anacharsis, iv. 78. (2) A Carian, father of Histineus of Termess, v. 37

Tyndareus, father of Helen, ii. 112

Tyndaridae (Castor and Polydences), their voyage in the Argos, iv. 145; their images with Lacedaemonian armies, v. 75; their recovery of Helen from Attica, ix. 73

Typhon (or Typhos), identified with the Egyptian Set, his search for Horus, ii. 156; Horus' victory, and banishment of Typhon to the Serbonian lake, ii. 144, iii. 5

Tyras, a Scythian river (Dniester), iv. 47; Cimmerian graves by it, iv. 11; its source, iv. 51; mark of Heracles' foot on its bank, iv. 82

Tyre, abduction of Europa thence, i. 2; temple of Hercules there, ii. 44; Tyrian settlement at Memphis, ii. 112; war between Egypt and Tyre, ii. 161; Tyrian king with Xerxes, viii. 67

Tyrodiza, a town near Perinthus, Xerxes' commissariat there, vii. 25

Tyrseni (Tyrrenians, Etruscans), in central Italy, their Pelasgian neighbours, i. 57; their Lydian origin, i. 94; Tyrrhenian sea discovered by Phoenicians, i. 103; Tyrrhenian attack on Phoenicians, i. 166; Tyrrhenia a synonym for Italy, vi. 22

Tyrsenus, leader of the Lydian settlement in Italy, i. 94

Uti, a tribe on the Persian gulf, their tribute to Persia, iii. 93; in Xerxes' army, vii. 68

Xanthes, a Samian, his bringing of Rhodopis to Egypt, ii. 135

Xanthippus, an Athenian, father of Pericles, vi. 131; his impeachment of Miltiades, vi. 136; Athenian general after Salamis, vii. 33, viii. 131; in command on the Hellespont, ix. 114, 120

## INDEX

Xanthus, a town in Lycia, resistance of the Xanthians to the Persians, and their defeat, I. 179

Xerxes, of Halicarnassus, made governor of Cilicia for saving the life of Mardonius, IX. 107

Xerxes: for mentions of him as leader of the Persian forces in the invasion of Greece, see the tables of contents in Introductions to Vols. III and IV of this translation. Principal references to Xerxes personally: his execution of a Babylonian priest, I. 183; of Satispes, IV. 43; succession to the throne, VII. 2, 3; his council, and colloquies with Artabanus, VII. 8-18; treatment of Pythius, VII. 27, 28, 38, 39; crossing of the Hellespont, VII. 35; further colloquy with Artabanus, VII. 40-52; with Demaratus, VII. 101-104, 200, 234-237; Xerxes' visit to the Peneus, VII. 128-130; generosity to two Spartans, VII. 136; his personal beauty, VII. 187; vengeance on the dead Leonidas, VII. 238; advice given to Xerxes by Artemisia, VIII. 68, 69; Xerxes a spectator of the battle of Salamis, VIII. 88, 90; his council of war after the battle, VIII. 100-102; his fear of the Greeks, VIII. 203; story of his danger of shipwreck in his return, VIII. 118, 119; his passion for his brother's wife and her daughter, and its consequences, IX. 108-113

Xuthus, a legendary hero, father of Ion, VII. 94, VIII. 44

Zacynthus, west of Greece, description of a pool there, IV. 195; Demaratus' escape there, VI. 70; intended expulsion of Zacynthians by Samians, III. 59; death of Hegesiletratus in Zacynthus, IX. 37

Zalmoxis, see Salmozis.

Zanole (later Messene, modern Messina), its seizure by Samians, VI. 23, VII. 164; attack by Hippocrates of Gela, VII. 154

Zaneccas, a tribe in western Libya, IV. 193

Zeus, I. 65, 89, 131, 174, 207, II. 13, 110, 136, 140, III. 124, VI. 67, VII. 58, 61, 141, 221, VIII. 77, IX. 122; connected with some particular place or function (Zeus Lacedaemon, Zeus Cathartinus, etc.), I. 44, 171, II. 55, 178, III. 142, IV. 203, V. 46, 60, 110, VI. 56, 68, VII. 141, 197, IX. 7, 61; identified with foreign deities, I. 46, 131, 181-183, II. 18, 32, 29, 42, 54, 55, 63, 74, 83, 143, III. 158, IV. 5, 59, 127, 150, 181, VII. 40

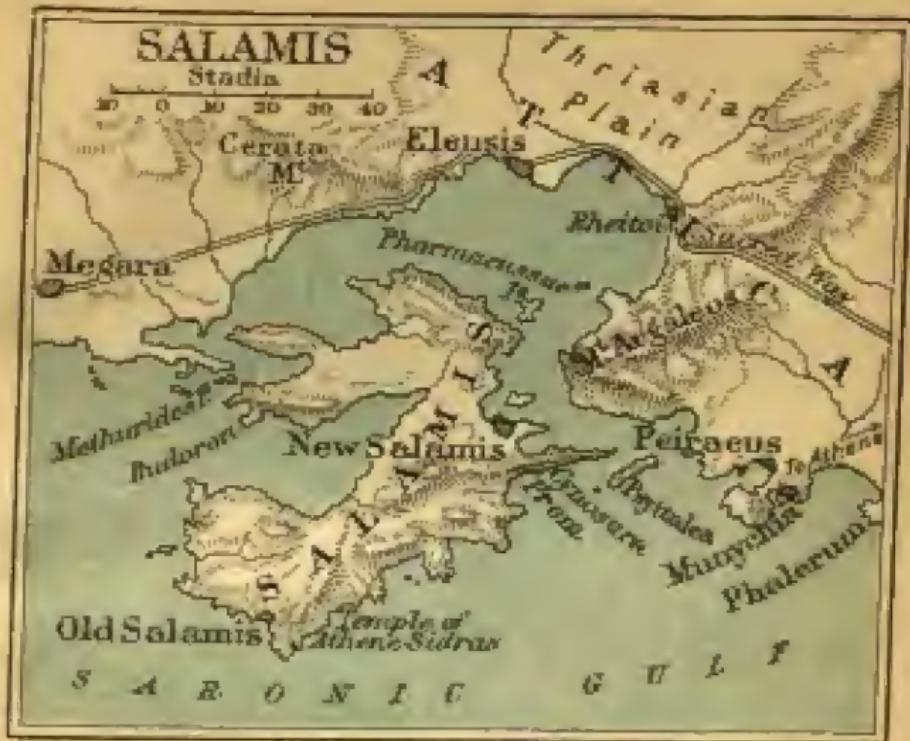
Zeuxidemus, son of Leutychides, king of Sparta, his early death, VI. 71

Zopyrna, (1) a Persian, son of Megabyzus, his pretended desertion to the Babylonians, and delivery of Babylon to Darius, III.

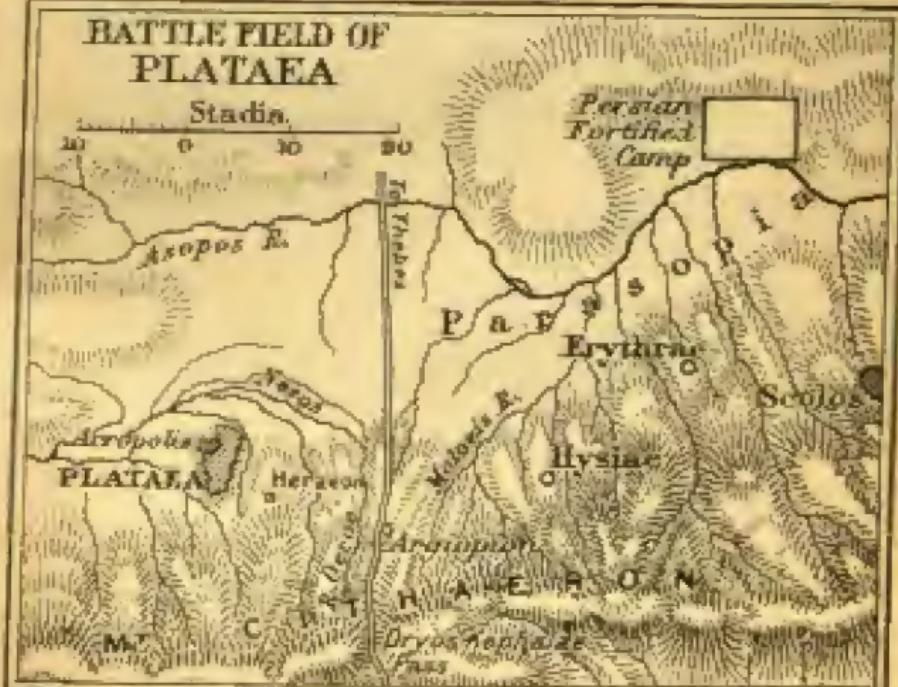
## INDEX

153-159; Darius' esteem for him, III. 160; rape of his daughter, IV. 43. (2) Grandson of the above, his migration from Persia to Athens, III. 160  
Zoster (Girdle), a promontory on the coast of Attica, rocks near it taken for ships by the Persians, VIII. 107

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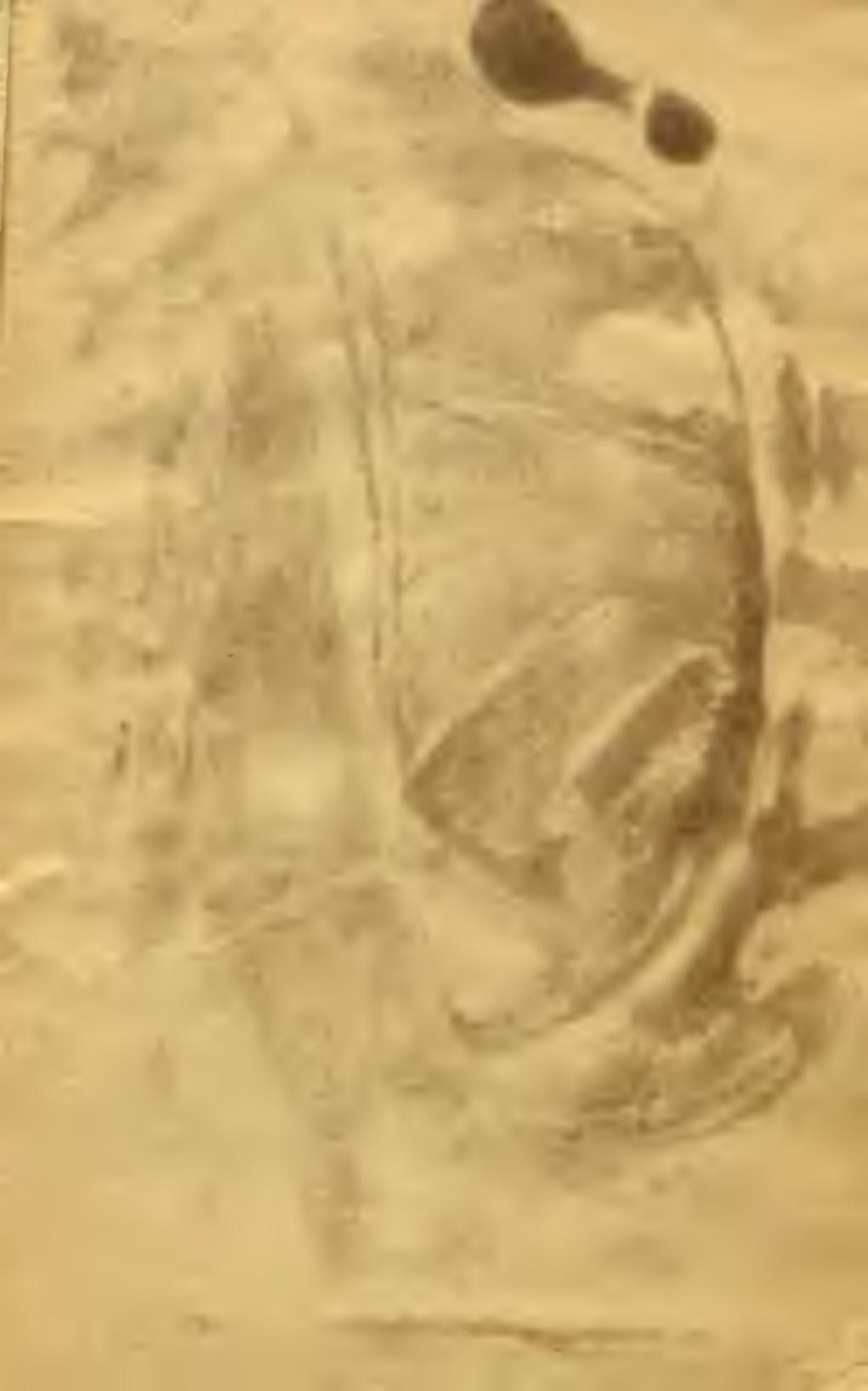
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